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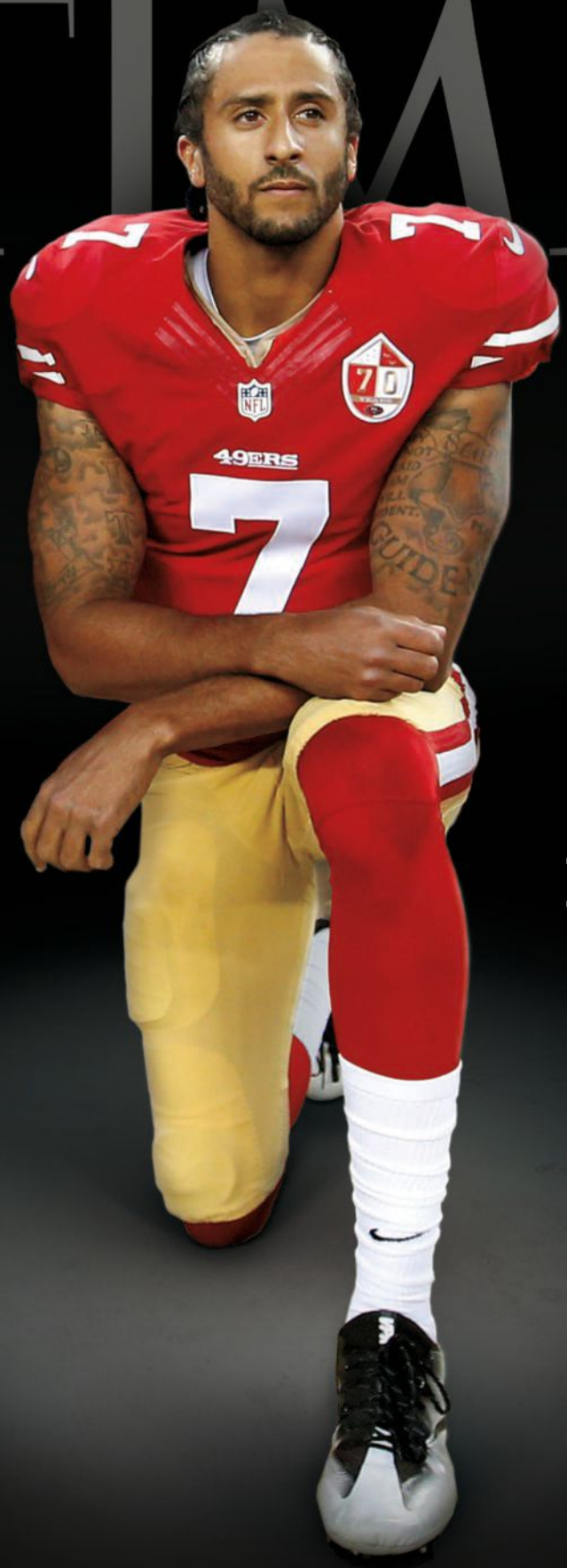

The Perilous Fight

National anthem protests led by **Colin Kaepernick** are fueling a debate about privilege, pride and patriotism

By Sean Gregory

TIME
VOL. 188, NO. 13 | 2016

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Supporters of Austria's far-right Freedom Party at a rally in September

Photograph by Alexander Schwarzl—EPA

ON THE COVER: *Colin Kaepernick of the San Francisco 49ers kneels during the national anthem before a game against the Los Angeles Rams on Sept. 12. TIME photo-illustration. Photograph by Michael Zagaris—Getty Images*

TIME (ISSN 0040-781X) is published weekly, except for two combined issues in January and one combined issue in February, April, July, August, September and November by Time Inc. **PRINCIPAL OFFICE:** 225 Liberty Street, New York, NY 10281-1008. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send all UAA to CFS (See DMM 507.1.5.2); **Non-Postal and Military Facilities:** send address corrections to TIME Magazine, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL 33662-2120. Canada Post Publications Mail Agreement No. 40110178. Return undeliverable Canadian addresses to: Postal Station A, P.O. Box 4322, Toronto, Ontario M5W 3G9. GST No. 888381621RT0001. © 2016 Time Inc. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without written permission is prohibited. TIME and the Red Border Design are protected through trademark registration in the United States and in the foreign countries where TIME magazine circulates. U.S. Subscriptions: $49 for one year. **SUBSCRIBERS:** If the Postal Service alerts us that your magazine is undeliverable, we have no further obligation unless we receive a corrected address within two years. Your bank may provide updates to the card information we have on file. You may opt out of this service at any time. **CUSTOMER SERVICE AND SUBSCRIPTIONS:** For 24/7 service, visit ***time.com/customerservice.*** You can also call 1-800-843-TIME; write to TIME, P.O. Box 62120, Tampa, FL, 33662-2120; or email ***privacy@time.customersvc.com.*** **MAILING LIST:** We make a portion of our mailing list available to reputable firms. If you would prefer that we not include your name, please call or write us. **PRINTED IN THE U.S.**◆◆◆◆◆◆◆

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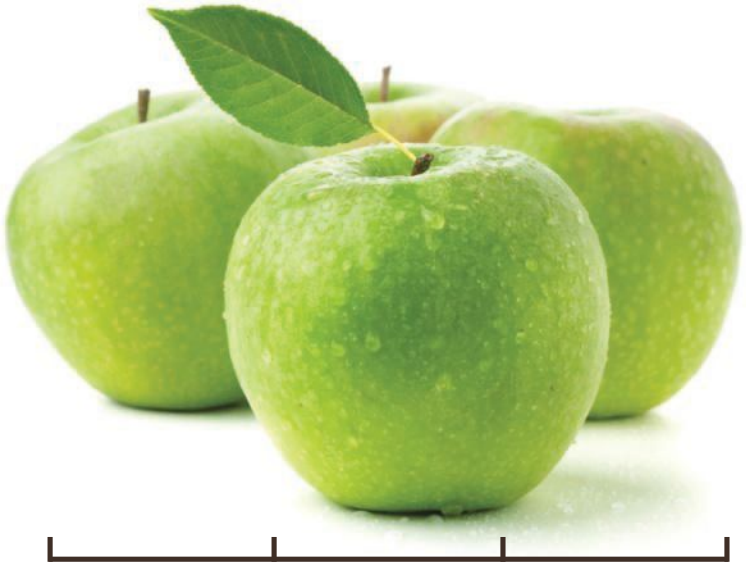

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What you said about ...

LATE NIGHT POLITICS Comedians like Samantha Bee, Trevor Noah and Seth Meyers have brought late-night TV a long way, "from Carson, when I was a kid, to nowadays, [when it's] really sharp and really partisan," said MSNBC's Kate Snow, in a discussion of TIME's Sept. 26 cover story, by Richard Zoglin, about how late night has gotten more political than ever. In the Federalist, David Marcus argued that there was nothing new about the "phenomenon of [hosts] siding with liberals." But others praised the story, describing the comics, in the words of Courtney Fay on Twitter, as "educated, intelligent, informed and denouncing hate and racism."

'Wow cover of @TIME magazine and we look so pretty.'

TREVOR NOAH, *The Daily Show* host, on Twitter

LIFE AS A "NONE" Susanna Schrobsdorff's Sept. 26 essay on being one of the growing number of religiously unaffiliated and agnostic Americans struck a chord with people of all faiths. "She's right that longing for faith proves there is a reason to have it," wrote Diane Lowrey of Houston, urging the columnist to give religion more of a chance so as not do "to her children what her atheist father did to her." Nicholas Longo of Racine, Wisc., meanwhile, invited Schrobsdorff to attend a Unitarian Universalist service, where "the majority of us are agnostics or atheists." Sally Oey of Ann Arbor, Mich., praised the writer as"brave to share the story of her own and her mother's agnosticism," but expressed frustration that the essay ended with the idea of God's possible existence. "Why don't we ever hear the other version," she asked, "the one which starts with the pious believer who finally has a story-worthy epiphany that God really doesn't exist?"

'Loved your essay. Thanks for having the bravery to come out as a "none" & so openly discuss it.'

SARRAH J. WOODS, on Twitter

REEFS IN DANGER Richard Vevers of XL Catlin Seaview Survey captures the effect of climate change on coral, particularly the bleaching that occurs when it dies. But in March, at the New Caledonia Barrier Reef *(below)* in the South Pacific, he saw dying coral lit up in a burst of color. See more, in 360° panorama, at **time.com/coral**

BONUS *TIME* HISTORY

Subscribe to TIME's free history newsletter and **get the stories behind the news,** plus a curated selection of highlights from our archives. For more, visit **time.com/email**

WINNING PLACES For its annual list of America's best places to live, *Money* analyzed taxes, education and more. The ranking of 2016's top towns—at **money.com/bestplaces**—is led by the three below:

	1. COLUMBIA, MD.	2. EDEN PRAIRIE, MINN.	3. PLANO, TEXAS
Population:	102,221	62,617	277,767
Median home price:	$310,000	$310,000	$301,848
Property tax:	$4,442	$4,317	$6,066
Unemployment rate:	3.5%	3.5%	3.6%
Commute time:	29 min.	20 min.	26 min.

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In "The Making of Luke Cage" (Sept. 26), we misstated the age of Cheo Hodari Coker. He is 43.

TALK TO US

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CORAL: XL CATLIN SEAVIEW SURVEY

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SKYTEAM

FRANCE IS IN THE AIR

PUTTING YOU AT THE CENTER OF OUR WORLD

Welcome to our Business Class, where your comfort is our priority.

‘I will consider it ... an insult to my legacy if this community lets down its guard.’

PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA, speaking at a Congressional Black Caucus event about the dangers of electing Donald Trump (though Obama did not name the GOP nominee)

45 days, 22 hours, 38 minutes

The amount of time it took Karl Meltzer to run the 2,190-mile Appalachian Trail, a new record; he averaged 29.5 minutes per mile—including sleeping

Atlantic Ocean
Obama designated the first national marine park in the ocean

GOOD WEEK
BAD WEEK

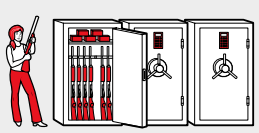
Arctic Ocean
Arctic sea ice melted to its second-lowest area on record

‘WHAT MATTERS MOST NOW IS THE WELL-BEING OF OUR KIDS.’

BRAD PITT, after his wife, Angelina Jolie, filed for divorce, citing irreconcilable differences

2025

The year by which “private car ownership will all but end in major U.S. cities,” as predicted by John Zimmer, cofounder and president of the ride-sharing service Lyft



3%

The percentage of American adults who own half of the country’s guns, according to a survey by researchers at Harvard and Northeastern universities

‘The whole block shook.’

DEBORAH GRIFFITH, a New York City resident, describing the Sept. 17 explosion in the Chelsea neighborhood that injured 29 people; three days later, police charged a suspect in connection with that blast, as well as an earlier detonation in New Jersey

‘TOPPLE THE PATRIARCHY!’

JILL SOLOWAY, accepting a best-director Emmy for her Amazon series *Transparent*; she also called for Hollywood to put more “women, people of color, trans people, queer people ... at the center of a story” and for an end to violence against transgender women

‘Reform in a profession that doesn’t need to be reformed is not the answer to fight crime.’

CHUCK CANTERBURY, president of the Fraternal Order of Police, America’s largest police union, explaining why his organization endorsed Donald Trump over Hillary Clinton, who Canterbury says “wants to work on police reform”

SOURCES: THE GUARDIAN; MEDIUM; NASA; NEW YORK DAILY NEWS; NPR; RED BULL

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

The Brief

'IT'S BEEN 15 YEARS WE'VE TALKED ABOUT THE SMART HOME. IT HAS NOT HAPPENED.' —PAGE 16

NATION

What a terrorist acting alone says about the loyalty of U.S. Muslims

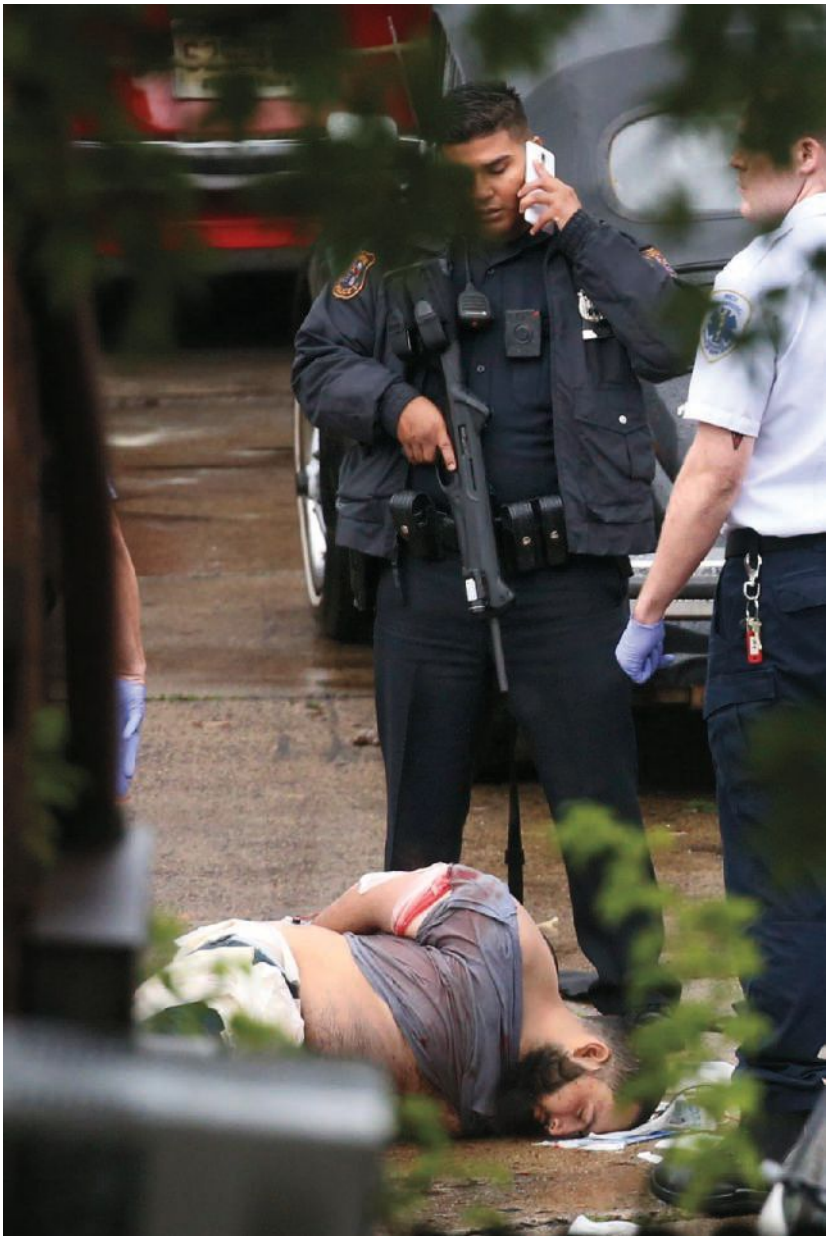
By Karl Vick

A WEEKEND THAT BEGAN WITH THREE bombs in New York and New Jersey, plus a knife attack at a Minnesota mall, ended with a far more encouraging sight on Monday morning: the burly figure of Ahmad Khan Rahami, huddling against the elements in the entrance vestibule of Merdie's Tavern in Linden, N.J.

The rain came down in sheets, and Rahami was the most wanted man in America, his name chirped to every smartphone and television screen in greater New York by an NYPD alert: "WANTED"—for the explosion in Manhattan's Chelsea neighborhood on Sept. 17, a second device that failed to detonate three blocks away and another that did, earlier the same day, along the route of a Marine Corps charity run on the Jersey Shore.

Miraculously, given the planning and ball bearings that went into the bombs, none produced death or even an injury that kept anyone in the hospital longer than overnight. On Sept. 18, a backpack stuffed with pipe bombs was found at an Elizabeth, N.J., commuter-railway station, apparently abandoned by a suspect who had nowhere to run and, with nearly every TV screen in America showing his picture, nowhere to hide.

This counts as good news. When the young jihadists who carried out the terrorist attacks on Paris fled that city, they melted into an underground of sympathetic neighbors in a Muslim ghetto at the very heart of Europe—the Molenbeek neighborhood in Brussels. There, the most wanted man in Europe hid out for four months before he was



BOSTON HERALD/POLARIS

Ahmad Khan Rahami, 28, was shot in the arm and leg after opening fire on police who approached him in the doorway of a bar in Linden, N.J., on Sept. 19

'I did what I think every American would have done. My neighbor would have done the same thing. Any Jewish, Christian, Sikh, Muslim.'

HARINDER BAINS, the Sikh immigrant who summoned police after discovering the most wanted man in America asleep in the vestibule of the tavern he owns in Linden, N.J.

PHOTOGRAPH BY NICOLAUS CZARNECKI

finally discovered blocks from his family home.

Where was Rahami's sanctuary? He was, in the end, alone. At home, his father had described the Afghan immigrant as a terrorist to police two years earlier, prompting an FBI inquiry that ended inconclusively. The tavern doorway where the son took refuge stands just 13 miles from Jersey City, where Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump (falsely) claimed that "thousands and thousands" of American Muslims cheered the collapse of the Twin Towers 15 years ago. New Jersey's Muslim population, at 3%, is as high as that of any state in America. Yet Rahami had to sleep on the street.

His arrest there after just 50 hours at large demonstrates how much a would-be attacker is up against in a country newly transfixed by terrorism: surveillance cameras, instant forensics and a coordinated security apparatus that, with that text announced by a civil-defense alarm, can instantly deputize the entire public. "This," said NYPD Commissioner James O'Neill, "is the future."

Maybe so. But note also the present. America's roughly 3 million Muslims make up barely 1% of its inhabitants. They include scattered malcontents and militants who turn violent. But extremists are clear outliers in a population striking for its aspiration and assimilation. A 2011 Pew Research Center report shows that Muslims are almost exactly as likely to call their faith important (69%) and to worship weekly (47%) as U.S. Christians. A majority say life is better in America than in Muslim countries. With 6 of 10 born abroad, Muslims become U.S. citizens at a far higher rate (70%) than other immigrants (47%). And though many report unwelcome friction since 9/11, Muslims are more than twice as likely as other Americans to say things are going well in the country.

It becomes clear why Rahami, like the Boston Marathon bomber Tamerlan Tsarnaev, was apparently radicalized on long visits overseas, in countries where Muslims who have never been to the U.S. believe it is at war with Islam. The belief took hold when, after dispatching the Afghanistan regime that had sheltered Osama bin Laden, the U.S. invaded another Muslim country, Iraq, which was uninvolved in the Sept. 11 attacks.

Driving Muslims and Westerners apart—erasing what it calls "the gray zone" of coexistence—is a stated goal of ISIS, which took credit for the Sept. 17 knife wounding of 10 people in St. Cloud, Minn., by a Somali immigrant who was then killed. It's a strategy of purposeful alienation that former senior CIA officials say Trump's campaign actually plays into by opposing Muslim immigration or comparing Syrian refugees to Skittles. But given Muslims' embrace of America and Rahami's lonely flight, it doesn't seem to be going so well. ◻

TICKER

Fed won't raise interest rates—yet

Citing a strengthening U.S. labor market and increased economic activity, the Federal Reserve announced Sept. 21 that it would keep interest rates unchanged for now, although it may raise them before the end of the year.

U.N. convoy is attacked in Syria

The U.N. suspended all aid convoys in Syria on Sept. 20 after an airstrike hit a fleet of trucks near Aleppo. The U.S. blamed Russia for the strike, which came hours after the collapse of a cease-fire between the Syrian regime and opposition forces.

Fire ravages Greek refugee camp

Thousands of asylum seekers were evacuated from an overcrowded camp on the Greek island of Lesbos after a major fire. There are some 5,300 asylum seekers currently on the island, which has capacity for only 3,500.

New rules for self-driving cars

The U.S. government issued its first safety guidelines for self-driving cars. The policy document sets out how automakers should make driverless vehicles safe for U.S. roads and how state and federal regulators will share oversight.

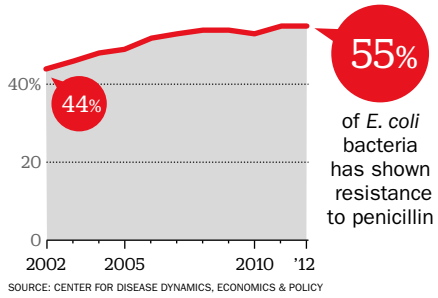
MEDICINE

World focuses on superbug threat

Global leaders gathered on Sept. 21 during the U.N. General Assembly to discuss the growing danger of antimicrobial resistance. It's only the fourth time the General Assembly has examined a health issue.

WHY IT'S A PROBLEM

After years of antibiotic use to kill pathogens, bacteria (like *E. coli,* as shown below) are becoming resistant to treatment. A May 2015 report estimates worldwide deaths from superbugs could rise to 10 million a year by 2050.



SOURCE: CENTER FOR DISEASE DYNAMICS, ECONOMICS & POLICY

WHAT COUNTRIES ARE CURRENTLY DOING

National strategies have so far relied heavily on raising awareness, but health care providers and global businesses like fast-food restaurants are pledging to curb unnecessary antibiotic use in people and animals. In the U.S., the government is trying to bolster national surveillance of superbugs.

WHAT COUNTRIES NEED TO DO

The goal of the U.N. meeting is to solidify political support to fight antibiotic resistance. That could mean adopting stronger stances on the judicious use of antibiotics in medicine, pushing for the restriction of antibiotics for livestock and advising people to use prescribed antibiotics correctly (i.e., finish every course of treatment). Developing new drugs will also be critical.

DIGITS

23,000

Estimated age, in years, of the world's oldest fish hooks, found in a cave on Japan's Okinawa island

FISH HOOKS: AFP/GETTY IMAGES; MODI: IMTIYAZ KHAN—ANADOLU AGENCY/GETTY IMAGES; ILLUSTRATION BY CARRIE GEE FOR TIME

BUSH BRUTALITY On Sept. 19, a veterinarian aided by a crew from Rhino 911, a tactical-air-support nonprofit that fights rhino poaching, tends to a rhino wounded during a dehorning by poachers at Pilanesberg National Park in South Africa. The CITES wildlife trade conference, due to begin Sept. 24, has put combatting the rhino-horn trade at the top of its agenda. *Photograph by Gianluigi Guercia—AFP/Getty Images*

SOUTH ASIA

Kashmir attack pushes India and Pakistan to the brink

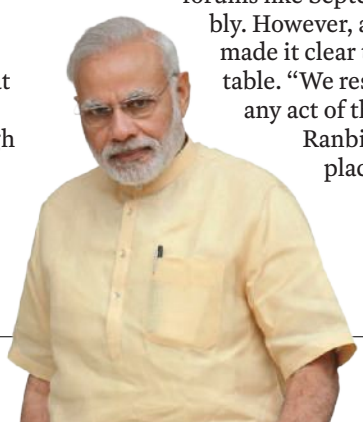
ON THE MORNING OF SEPT. 18, FOUR HEAVILY armed men attacked an Indian army base near the town of Uri in the disputed territory of Kashmir. The attack left at least 18 soldiers dead and over two dozen wounded, and it threatens to disrupt the perennially fragile détente between India and Pakistan in the contentious mountain region:

WAR OF WORDS The attack has sparked a heated confrontation between the two adversarial neighbors. New Delhi has claimed the attack was carried out by Jaish-e-Muhammad, an Islamist terror group that some in India have accused Pakistan of supporting. Home Minister Rajnath Singh went further, calling Pakistan a "terrorist state." Pakistani authorities slammed "baseless and irresponsible" claims that they orchestrated the attack, asking their Indian counterparts for "actionable intelligence."

HIGH STAKES Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi is now under pressure domestically to retaliate with military force. It wouldn't be the first time Kashmir sparked armed conflict; of the four wars India and Pakistan have fought since gaining independence from Britain in 1947, three have been over control of the region. Considering that both countries possess nuclear weapons, further escalation would be cause for global alarm.

COLD WAR Modi's government seems for now to be drawing back from retaliation, instead deciding to "diplomatically isolate" Pakistan at international forums like September's U.N. General Assembly. However, a top Indian military official made it clear that all options were on the table. "We reserve the right to respond to any act of the adversary," Lieut. General Ranbir Singh said, "at a time and place of our choosing."

—RISHI IYENGAR

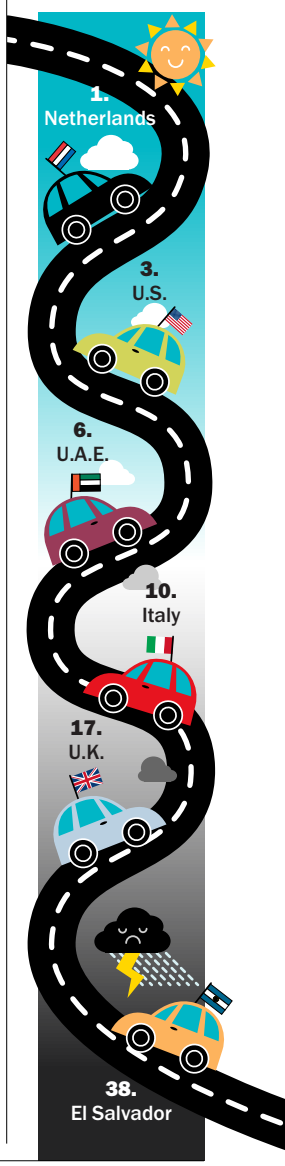


The Kashmir attack may end Modi's attempts to rebuild relations with Pakistan

DATA

THE HAPPIEST DRIVERS

Traffic app Waze ranked 38 countries by driver satisfaction, using data from millions of active users on factors like traffic, road safety and driver services. Here's a sample:



TICKER

'Bridgegate' trial begins

New Jersey Governor Chris Christie was aware of a plan to purposefully snarl traffic near the George Washington Bridge for political retribution as it unfolded, federal prosecutors said. Christie, whose aides are on trial over the scheme, has denied the claim.

Mosul offensive weeks away

The U.S. will be ready in October to help Iraqi forces retake the city of Mosul from ISIS, Marine General Joseph Dunford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said. The city is ISIS's last major stronghold in the country.

Brain cancer now deadliest for kids

Brain cancer has overtaken leukemia to become the deadliest childhood cancer in the U.S., according to new federal data. The government statistics also show a 20% drop in deaths from cancer among children and teenagers.

Zimbabwe targets flag protesters

Zimbabwe's Justice Ministry said Sept. 20 that the sale or use of the national flag without permission could result in prison time, after anti-government activists turned the flag into a symbol of mass protests.

THE RISK REPORT

China puts a limit on Russian ambition

By Ian Bremmer

RUSSIA'S ON A ROLL. IT HAS BLOCKED Ukraine's turn to the West and claimed Crimea as a trophy. Finger-wagging Europeans are struggling with refugees, Brexit, populism, terrorism and a dozen chronic problems. Nervous Americans fear that Russian cybermasters will steal their secrets and manipulate their elections. Washington has reluctantly embraced Moscow as a needed military partner in the Middle East. Western sanctions, low oil prices and a weak economy haven't diminished President Vladimir Putin's 82% approval rating—which is why his United Russia party just won a resounding victory in parliamentary elections.

But Russia has an important long-term problem, and it isn't just its slowing economy. China is an increasingly serious challenger in regions that Russians consider part of their sphere of influence. It is not the West that will limit the expansion of Russian influence and prestige. It is China.

Dynamic and diversified China has huge amounts of money to invest across Eurasia, and countries in the region will benefit from the money in coming years to build roads, bridges, ports, schools and growth-bolstering communications infrastructure. China, not Russia, is Central Asia's top trade partner and biggest lender. Its new Silk Road initiative is opening new markets for Chinese goods and extending Beijing's political influence.

Russia has tried to keep Central Asia within its orbit through membership in Putin's Eurasian Union, a project designed to rebuild Russian dominance throughout as much former Soviet territory as possible. Kazakhstan was a founding member, though a reluctant negotiating partner whenever Moscow has tried to extend the union's jurisdiction from commerce to politics and security.

No surprise there. Russia's economy is not simply in recession; it's in decline. Russia can't dominate the region with its military, and it has no ideological appeal for anyone who doesn't need its backing. Even Russian voters are tuning out. The size of United Russia's win on Sept. 18 owes much to very low turnout.

> China is a serious challenger in regions that Russians consider part of their sphere of influence

China and Russia have a common interest in limiting U.S. security and economic dominance, but all China really needs from Russia is raw materials, and China has long since begun to diversify its sources for everything Russia sells. Add Europe's realization that it needs new energy sources, and China can continue to drive a hard bargain on prices at a time when Russia badly needs new commercial opportunities.

When the Russian-Chinese partnership reaches its natural limits, the two nations' historic mistrust will again dominate the relationship. That reality will be a lot tougher on Russia than on China. □

ROUNDUP

Odd tax breaks of the world

Sweden's ruling coalition submitted a series of proposals on Sept. 20 that would create tax breaks for repairs to items such as shoes, bicycles and dishwashers to encourage reuse. Here are some other unusual tax breaks around the globe. —*Tara John*

GARDEN GNOMES
Property investors in Australia can claim the cost of garden gnomes added to their rental property. The ceramic lawn accessory is among hundreds of potential deductions for landlords.

WITCHCRAFT
A court in the Netherlands ruled on Sept. 23, 2005, that witchcraft lessons were tax-deductible as long as they increased a person's employability and earning potential.

BRIBERY
Not only were bribes to private businesses legal in Germany until 2002, but they were tax-deductible until 1999. The deduction was reportedly rarely used, as it required the identity of both parties to be specified.

Milestones

DIED

› **Charmian Carr,** actor, on Sept. 17 at age 73. She was best known for portraying Liesl, the eldest von Trapp daughter, in the movie adaptation of Rodgers and Hammerstein's *The Sound of Music.*

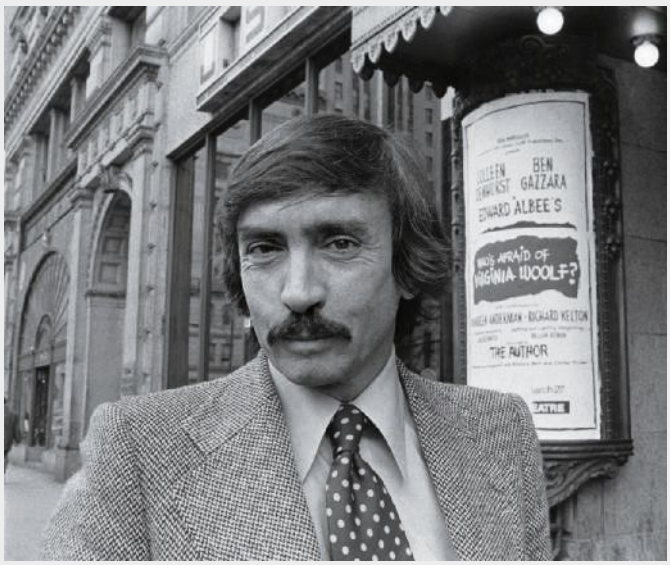
› **Roy Rowan,** journalist and author, on Sept. 13 at age 96. The former TIME foreign correspondent, who covered the Chinese civil war, was one of the last American journalists to evacuate Saigon in April 1975.

› **Curtis Hanson,** film director, on Sept. 20 at age 71. He won a screenwriting Oscar for the crime film *L.A. Confidential.*

› A terminally ill minor in Belgium, whose death was the first assisted suicide since the country removed age restrictions for euthanasia two years ago.

RECORDED

The **hottest summer since records began,** according to a federal climate report. The average temperature across land and ocean from June to August was 61.7°F, beating the previous record set last year.



Albee outside Boston's Colonial Theatre on March 10, 1976

DIED

Edward Albee

Icon of the American theater

By Tracy Letts

IT'S HARD TO IMAGINE THE KIND OF GRAVITY THAT WORDS had with a ferociously intelligent man like Mr. Albee, who died Sept. 16 at age 88. He chose them and ordered them meticulously—not only in his great works of drama like *The Zoo Story, A Delicate Balance* and *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?,* but also in lectures and casual conversation. I first met him in 2008 when he handed me the New York Drama Critics' Circle award for my play *August: Osage County.* That was very meaningful to me, to receive it from undoubtedly the greatest playwright of a generation. I was in awe of him.

Mr. Albee (he once asked me to call him Edward, but it never felt right) led the charge for a freer form of expression, changing theater and contemporary American life—the way we speak, the way we tell jokes. He shifted long-held beliefs and attitudes about marriage, love and class. He was determined to make trouble—he considered it an essential part of a playwright's job. He kicked open a door in a conservative world to challenge people and the status quo. He was not interested in making it easy for people to digest prechewed ideas. And he never strayed from his idea of what theater should be. He stuck to his guns.

Mr. Albee was the last of a group of legendary playwrights who essentially defined American drama. There's not another one of those guys coming through the door. I thank Mr. Albee on behalf of a grateful public.

Letts is a playwright and actor who played George in *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* on Broadway in 2012

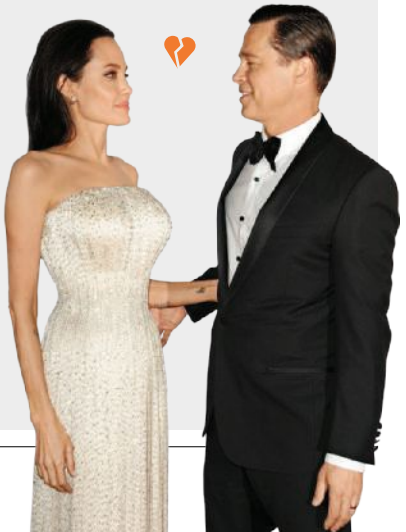
DIVORCING

Brangelina

BRAD PITT AND ANGELINA Jolie, who announced on Sept. 20 that they are to divorce, spent more than a decade in the media spotlight. The pair went public after their 2005 movie *Mr. and Mrs. Smith*—shot while Pitt was married to Jennifer Aniston. As depicted in the then exploding medium of glossy tabloids, the triangle had archetypal power; the dichotomy of the good-natured sitcom star Aniston and the "dark," intriguing Jolie seemed almost too apt.

The couple made use of the public's interest to promote their films and causes, framing themselves as the heirs to Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton—globetrotting cosmopolitans whom scandal followed endlessly. Over time, the parents of six went from courting press attention to shunning it. Nonetheless, their parting signals the end of an era. As more and more celebrities strive to be "relatable," Pitt and Jolie were the last movie stars famous for living purposefully outsize lives. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

Jolie and Pitt have both won Oscars—hers for acting, his for producing



ALBEE: JOHN J. MULLINS—AP; GNOME, WITCH, BRIBES, JOLIE AND PITT: GETTY IMAGES

CONGRESS

Wells Fargo customer fraud deals political setback to banks

By Massimo Calabresi

'I am deeply sorry that we failed to fulfill our responsibility.'

JOHN STUMPF, chairman and CEO of Wells Fargo, in a Senate hearing on its massive, multiyear customer fraud

FOR THE ENEMIES OF BIG BANKS, IT was a dream come true. John Stumpf, the CEO of what until recently had been the most valuable bank in the world, Wells Fargo, sat alone under the bright lights of a Senate hearing on Sept. 20, meekly receiving a three-hour public flogging—from industry-friendly Republicans, no less. Pennsylvania's Pat Toomey, who is up for re-election, called the bank's behavior "unbelievable" and "deeply disturbing." The committee's GOP chair, Richard Shelby of Alabama, broke out Watergate language: What did Stumpf know, and when did he know it?

The outrage was real. On Sept. 8, government officials revealed that Wells had opened more than 2 million bank and credit-card accounts for customers without their permission from 2011 through 2015, resulting in $2.6 million in unwarranted fees for tens of thousands of unsuspecting clients. Wells—once the poster child for banking prudence—agreed to pay $185 million in penalties, while exasperated Senate critics wondered what it would take to reform the industry. Massachusetts Democrat Elizabeth Warren offered her opinion to a visibly uncomfortable Stumpf: "The only way that Wall Street will change is if executives face jail time when they preside over massive frauds."

STUMPF HAD BUILT the bank's much admired success on a business strategy that fostered such fraud. "Cross-selling," or pushing account holders to open new accounts with Wells, was his pride and joy. On quarterly earnings calls in recent years, Stumpf had touted his company's success with the tactic. The markets responded by boosting the company's stock by $30 per share. The value of Stumpf's personal holdings jumped by $200 million.

Behind the ever rising ratios of "products per household," investigators found, was a boiler-room atmosphere of "excruciatingly high pressure" to boost numbers. Regional bosses set daily quotas for tellers and personal bankers, requiring them to stay late and work weekends or risk being fired. One whistle-blower, Yesenia Guitron, allegedly told managers in 2008 that the pressure was driving employees to open new accounts. Wells' management learned of the problem in 2011, according to investigators. But when the city of Los Angeles raised concerns in 2013, Wells said it didn't give customers any accounts or services they didn't need, the city's deputy attorney testified.

It was only after a 2013 Los Angeles *Times* article that the bank admitted to its regulators that there was an issue, investigators found. Over time, Wells fired some 5,300 employees and claimed to be rooting out the problem. "This type of activity has no place in our culture," Stumpf testified. But the cross-selling push continued until the day of the settlement in early September. Worse, even as talks were under way, Stumpf and the bank's board gave a lavish retirement package to the executive in charge of community banking, Carrie Tolstedt, who walked away with $124.6 million in stock and options.

Stumpf told Senators, "We never directed nor wanted our team members to provide products and services to customers that they did not want." The Justice Department has reportedly issued subpoenas and begun a criminal probe. U.S. federal prosecutors are vying for the right to go after the bank, and the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency is weighing penalties for managers. Democratic staffers on the Hill have discussed the unlikely prospect that special powers could be triggered, allowing regulators to break up Wells. Meanwhile, GOP staffers and their allies at other banks are as angry at Wells as anyone. They say the revelations, coming amid the current populist atmosphere, have at least temporarily derailed efforts to roll back the Dodd-Frank act, which imposed new oversight rules on Wall Street. As for rolling back bad behavior there, says Richard Cordray, head of the powerful but politically embattled Consumer Financial Protection Bureau, which imposed $100 million of the federal fine on Wells, "it's a big project to change the culture at the banks." □

2 million
Number of fake bank accounts and credit cards set up

$2.6 million
Value of unwarranted client fees incurred as a result

$185 million
Total civil penalties under the settlement

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SMART HOMES

The high-tech-home revolution is taking longer than advertised

By Lisa Eadicicco and Matt Vella

BLAME IT ON *THE JETSONS*. TWO YEARS ago, the so-called smart home seemed poised to follow the Internet and smartphone as the next big revolution in consumer technology. Devices ranging from app-controlled air conditioners to water purifiers that automatically reorder fresh filters online promised to distribute the benefits of Internet connectivity and algorithmic intelligence throughout the home, rendering dwellings healthier and more efficient. Anticipating this shift, Google acquired thermostat maker Nest for $3.2 billion in 2014 and installed the startup's co-founder Tony Fadell as its hardware czar. He had helped create the iPod at Apple and envisioned reimagining a panoply of mundane home appliances. A few months later, Samsung bought SmartThings, a maker of connected light switches, doorknobs and water sensors, for an estimated $200 million. Over the course of that summer alone, investors spent some $800 million to acquire or fund companies with dreams of smartening up and automating American homes.

But then the revolution stalled. Consumers brought home fancy new gadgets only to face problems installing them or getting them to talk to one another. By 2016, growth in demand for devices like home-surveillance cameras and connected thermostats had flattened, according to research firm Accenture. High-profile companies began to falter. Quirky, a pioneer in helping inventors of smart-home gadgets find funding, filed for bankruptcy in late 2015. After an acrimonious tenure, Fadell left Nest this year, having launched few new products.

What happened? *Jetsons*-style visions of automated homes in which technology seamlessly performs the combined functions of butler, cook and maid turned out to be harder to provide than smart-home firms seemed to initially suggest. "Not only has the smart home been over-

CAN DO
The truly smart home may be some way off yet, but individual technologies can already do a lot. Here's a closer look:

1 Adjust your lights

Smart lightbulbs like those made by Philips and Lifx allow users to adjust the lighting in their homes using voice control or an app. These lights can also access your phone's GPS signal to detect when you're on your way home and illuminate the interior as you walk in the door.

2 Restock the pantry

Amazon's Dash buttons allow you to order items like snacks and paper towels simply by pushing a plastic button. Some gadgets take this a step further: Brita, for example, offers a water pitcher that knows when the filter is about to expire and automatically orders a fresh one online.

3 Spy on your fridge

Samsung's wi-fi-equipped refrigerator has a camera inside so that you can see what items you're out of when you're at the grocer, for instance.

4 Change your climate

Nest's thermostat learns about your temperature preferences over time and automatically adjusts according to factors like the time of day.

5 Watch your back

Companies like Icontrol Networks and Nest sell Internet-connected security cameras that can send alerts and record video when motion is detected in your home. Some gadgets, like the Nest Cam Outdoor, can also tell the difference between people and animals to avoid false alarms.

ILLUSTRATION BY JANNE IIVONEN

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promised by many companies," says Adam Sager, founder and CEO of home-security-camera maker Canary, "but the biggest failure has been to conceive reasons why a user would want their home to be smart." Sager says many ventures erred in trying to sell new gear without first asking "why they're creating the technology."

This disconnect between promise and reality jarred early advocates. "The biggest thing we found is that the early returns were consumers getting it home and it didn't work," says John Feland, CEO of Argus Insights, a research firm that has studied the adoption of smart-home technology. Some consumers who bought Nest's $99 smoke alarm, for example, found that their wi-fi network didn't reach the location where they'd hoped to install the gadget, blunting its ability to communicate with other smart-home gear. These types of installation issues dampened enthusiasm, says Feland.

Technologists have a term for these growing pains: the chasm, or the gulf between the difficulties early adopters are willing to endure to make a new technology a part of their lives and what mainstream consumers will put up with. A lot of would-be best sellers have disappeared into this chasm; there was e-commerce before Amazon, smartphones before the iPhone and wearable tech before Fitbit. But each became a hit by simplifying the concept enough to appeal to a mass audience. The smart home hasn't quite reached that point yet. "It's been 15 years we've talked about the smart home," says the CEO of Philips Lighting, Eric Rondolat. "It has not happened because of complexity."

Put another way, what the smart home has so far lacked is a brain, a central nervous system to bring into concert a cacophony of Internet-enabled lights, doorbells, security cameras, locks and so on. That's what Silicon Valley is trying to crack right now. Apple and Google both have plans to do just that, building on their dominance in smartphones and software. But Amazon may have gotten there first. The company's Echo speaker—which understands and responds to voice commands—is increasingly able to control smart gadgets throughout the home. Feland says this has given the e-commerce giant an unlikely edge. "When Echo came out, it was a novelty, but Amazon was the first to give your house a voice and personality," he says. Not unlike those space-age cartoons. ☐

CAN'T DO
But the smart home has a long way to go before it can fulfill the classic idea of a conscious house.

1

Tidy up

Vacuums like the Roomba save time cleaning our floors. When it comes to other household chores, like organizing kitchen supplies or hanging clothing, not so much. Robots that handle tasks like these, including Boston Dynamics' SpotMini, are just research projects for now rather than real products.

2

Fold laundry

Smart washing machines and dryers have made it easier to wash clothing, but the folding part remains unsolved. Japan-based Seven Dreamers' prototype Laundroid robot is a towering machine that folds garments—but it could take hours to finish a full load.

3

Cook dinner

A soon-to-be-released smart oven, dubbed June, will come close to cooking autonomously. It knows, for example, how long to cook a steak if your preference is medium rare, thanks to built-in cameras and a scale. But, when it becomes available later this year, it will recognize only a limited number of foods.

4

Grocery shop

Appliances from Samsung and LG come with all sorts of tech to let you see what's in your fridge without opening it. But none of it is smart enough to detect when you're running low on milk or bread and automatically reorder it for you.

5

Secure itself—completely

Security is a priority for most smart-home firms. But that doesn't mean they can't be hacked. University of Michigan researchers were able to hack into Samsung's platform in May, finding a way to obtain the PIN code for a door lock.

ILLUSTRATION BY JANNE IIVONEN

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Police officers and protesters face off during a demonstration on I-85 following the death of Keith Lamont Scott in Charlotte early on Sept. 21.

Photograph by Sean Rayford—Getty Images

NATION

Another set of blue-on-black shootings

THE DEATHS OF TERENCE Crutcher in Tulsa, Okla., and Keith Lamont Scott in Charlotte, N.C., were separated by one thousand miles, four days and a constellation of debated facts. But both men were African-American, and shot dead by police, and so their deaths reverberated loudly; in Charlotte, they sparked street disturbances that edged toward riot.

Crutcher's death, on Sept. 16, was recorded from numerous angles—dash cam, police helicopter. None showed the threat that Officer Betty Shelby said caused her to fire her pistol, just as a second officer fired a Taser. Crutcher, 40, had put both hands high in the air as he walked toward his SUV stopped in the middle of a two-lane highway. Shelby said he had been behaving erratically and she feared, as one hand came down beside the driver's side door, that he was about to reach into the vehicle for a gun. No weapon was found.

In Charlotte, Scott, 43, was also shot beside his parked car. Police said he climbed out of it with a gun after they approached him while searching for someone else on Sept. 20. His family insisted Scott held only a book, and his daughter posted a lengthy Facebook Live video from the scene, during which she addressed police officers with both anger and grief. After the night of unrest, Charlotte-Mecklenburg Police Chief Kerr Putney said only that a gun was recovered.

"It's time to change the narrative, because I can tell you from the facts that the story is a little bit different as to how it's been portrayed so far," Putney said, "especially through social media." — KARL VICK

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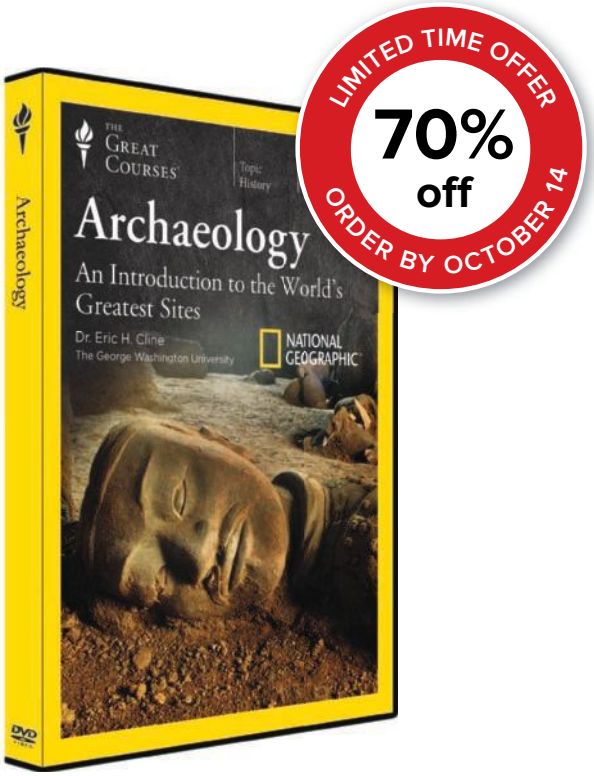

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The View

'IT IS PAST TIME FOR AMERICA TO RECOGNIZE THE COLLAPSE OF WORK FOR MEN.' —PAGE 28

Several new TV shows—including CBS's The Great Indoors, *ABC's* American Housewife *and NBC's* Timeless*—are struggling to include authentic minority characters*

ABC; NBC; CBS

ENTERTAINMENT

There's still more room—and need—for diversity on TV

By Daniel D'Addario

ONE OF THE MOST STRIKING MOments at this year's Emmy Awards came early, when Aziz Ansari and Alan Yang won the Best Comedy Writing prize for an episode of their Netflix series *Master of None.* The episode, "Parents," explored how children relate to their immigrant moms and dads, drawing heavily from the real-life experiences of its Indian-American and Taiwanese-American writers.

Less inspiring was what happened next. After Yang gave a heartfelt acceptance speech urging more and better representation for Asian Americans in Hollywood, Ansari—the star and creator of *Master of None*—got cut off by the orchestra. Then Jimmy Kimmel, the night's host, retook the stage. "Now there's almost too much diversity in this show," he declared.

It was meant to be a joke, but it hit on an uncomfortable truth. Yes, American TV looks and feels more inclusive than ever, thanks to buzzy hits like *Empire,* which centers on a black family, and *Fresh Off the Boat,* whose leads are Asian American. But the (white) status quo remains very much in place. On many network shows, minority actors get less screen time than their white counterparts. And when they do speak or act, they often do so in generic or unbelievable ways, as if executives were more concerned with casting a token than creating authentic characters—or empowering writers of color who could.

"Certain people in the industry believe things have changed and everything's fine," says Victoria Mahoney, a black director whose credits include *Grey's Anatomy.* "The outliers, we don't understand what the party is about."

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

Consider ABC's *American Housewife,* a new comedy from the network that brought us *blackish* and *Fresh Off the Boat*. The show centers on a white suburban woman (played by Katy Mixon) whose two closest friends are a black lesbian (Carly Hughes) and an Asian American (Ali Wong) who spend most of their time—in the pilot, at least—making her feel less self-conscious about her weight. ("You have a great ass … like a couple of ripe cantaloupes," Wong quips.) Meanwhile, on CBS's *The Great Indoors,* a group of diverse millennials gets chided by their white boss for being too "sheltered," and on NBC's *Timeless,* a black adventurer waxes poetic about Michael Jordan.

Is this progress? Absolutely. A decade ago, nonwhite characters on TV were vanishingly rare; now they appear on almost every show. But too often they're props, existing mostly to support white leads or to directly address race. That's a shame for minority actors, whose talents are being underutilized, and for viewers, because it makes for bad TV.

The culprit, say many in the industry, lurks behind the camera. Although racial minorities (including Hispanics who identify as white) make up some 38% of America's population, they represent just 19% of TV directors and 13% of TV writers, according to recent data. And most of them are men. That means TV's "diverse" characters are often dreamed up by people who don't share their experiences; as a result, their hijinks ring hollow.

In recent years, some shows have tried to course-correct by hiring "at least one" nonwhite writer, says Wendy Calhoun, a black producer and writer whose credits include *Empire* and *Nashville*. But that's a form of tokenism too, creating an environment in which lone staffers are expected to speak on behalf of entire racial or ethnic groups. "You need to have at least three [nonwhite writers] to start the conversation," says Calhoun.

There are signs of a sea change, though. The number of nonwhite writers, directors and actors working in TV—albeit small—is still at an all-time high, and it's expected to increase in coming seasons. And many of this year's most promising new shows, like *Empire, Scandal* and *Master of None* before them, feature ample minority representation, on- and offscreen. Among them: OWN's *Queen Sugar,* about siblings who inherit a sugar plantation, and Fox's *Pitch,* about the first female pitcher in major league baseball. Each one marks an opportunity not only to push TV forward but also to shape (and employ) a new generation of creative minds who may well become the next Ansari or Shonda Rhimes.

Mahoney, the director, says she's already "bashing down doors" to pitch her ideas. "It takes teamwork to keep the industry moving," she says. "Everyone has to go past what's comfortable." ◻

VERBATIM

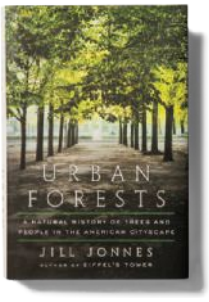
'I don't care how annoying or loud I am. It's important to be loud.'

CHELSEA HANDLER, comedian and Netflix talk-show host, on why she "won't shut up" about her political beliefs, which are very pro–Hillary Clinton

BOOK IN BRIEF

Why cities need more trees

WE ALL KNOW THAT TREES CAN MAKE streets look prettier. But in her new book, *Urban Forests,* Jill Jonnes explains how they make them safer as well. During heavy storms, trees are able to absorb a great deal of rainwater, decreasing the burden on sewer systems and preventing flooding. They also function as "natural air conditioners," she writes, dispersing air moisture that keeps cities cooler during heat waves—and saving millions of dollars in energy costs. Studies show that more trees can even deter crime; they make neighborhoods feel more pleasant, which in turns makes residents (read: witnesses) more likely to spend time outdoors. It's no wonder, then, that cities like New York, Denver and Sacramento have already invested heavily in urban planting. Now Jonnes argues that others should follow their lead. It's time, she writes, "to get serious about creating the lushest tree canopies we can nurture."



—SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

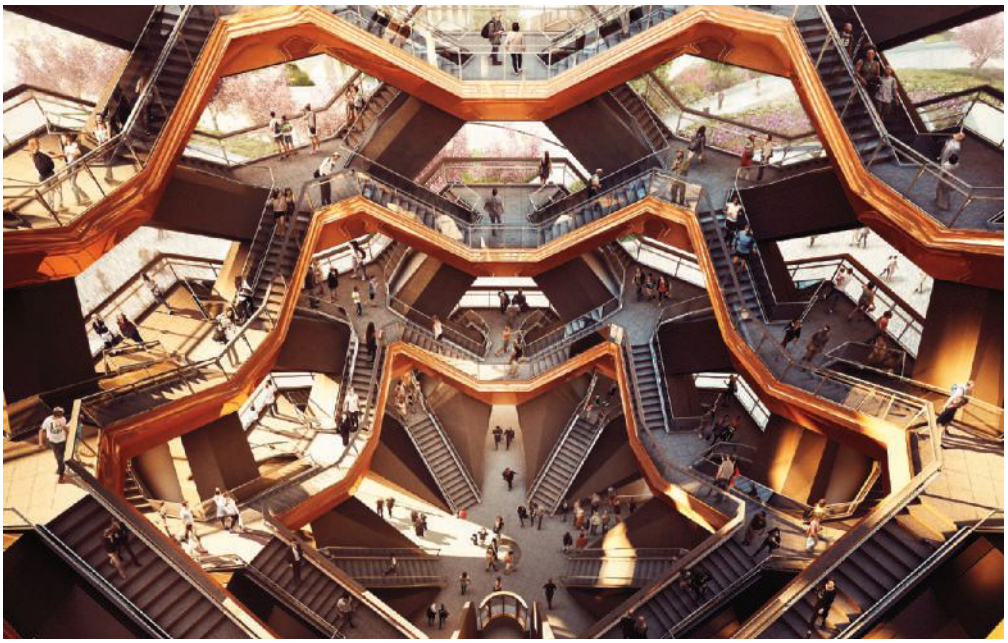
Google Naps

JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

PREVIEW

New York's next monument

How do you make a monument stand out in a city teeming with must-see attractions? By making it interactive. The Vessel, which will open in 2018 as the centerpiece of New York City's new Hudson Yards development, comprises 154 bronzed-steel staircases that rise 15 stories in the air and intersect at 80 landings. The goal is to "lift people up," designer Thomas Heatherwick has said. He meant it literally: there's an inclined glass elevator to the top of the beehive-like structure for visitors who aren't able to climb the nearly 2,500 stairs. *—Julia Zorthian*



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VIEWPOINT

How incentive prizes can spark innovation

By Julian Guthrie

IN 1927 CHARLES LINDBERGH BECAME the first solo pilot to fly nonstop across the Atlantic. The flight not only made Lindbergh famous; it also created the perception that flying was safe and available to the common man. And it was all sparked by a reward—specifically, hotel owner Raymond Orteig's offer of $25,000 to anyone who could fly across the Atlantic.

This is what's known as an incentive prize, and unlike trophies, ribbons or even Nobel Peace Prizes, it is not subjective. It's given to anyone who can hit a set of measurable targets, and in recent history it has been used to spur on spectacular feats of human endeavor, solve intractable problems and jump-start industries.

Consider the birth of the private space industry. In 1996, entrepreneur Peter Diamandis announced he would give $10 million to the first privately funded team that could build and fly a manned rocket into space twice in two weeks. He had two goals: one, to reignite his childhood passion for space exploration, and two, to create private alternatives to NASA, which had once been a maker of magic but had become costly and flawed.

It took almost a decade, but he succeeded on both counts. In 2004, Diamandis awarded the $10 million Ansari XPRIZE to SpaceShipOne designer Burt Rutan and program backer Paul Allen. Allen, the Microsoft co-founder, later licensed the tech to Richard Branson, who created Virgin Galactic. Now private spaceflight is an industry worth billions—and it started with a $10 million bet.

Guthrie is the author of How to Make a Spaceship: A Band of Renegades, an Epic Race, and the Birth of Private Spaceflight

DATA

THIS JUST IN

A roundup of new and noteworthy insights from the week's most talked-about studies:

1

HOUSEHOLD DUST MIGHT BE DANGEROUS

A study published in *Environmental Science and Technology* found that 10 chemicals known or thought to harm humans are found at varying levels in 90% of household dust. The chemicals come from household goods like furniture and toys, and can cause a range of issues including respiratory problems and cancer.

2

ADOLESCENTS WILL EAT HEALTHY FOODS IF IT SEEMS REBELLIOUS

A study in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* found that eighth-graders were more likely to make healthier food choices when they were framed as appealing to adolescent values—in this case, challenging the authority of food-industry giants.

3

FITNESS TRACKERS MAY NOT HELP WEIGHT LOSS

A report in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* tracked weight-loss efforts over two years by two groups of people. Only one group used wearables, and its members lost significantly less weight, on average. *—J.Z.*

The real retirement struggle: defining yourself as more than the sum of a long career

By Dan Kadlec

FIGURING OUT THE MONEY IS ONLY PART OF retirement planning. Longer lives are bringing the emotional aspects into focus as well, as new retirees with two decades of free time in front of them forge new identities that will shape their general well-being after their traditional careers end.

No matter what you did in your working life, an extended period of time postcareer redefines you. Among those ages 75 and older, only 9% say their identity is wrapped up in their former career or time as a parent, according to a report from Bank of America Merrill Lynch and Age Wave, a research firm that studies aging. The overwhelming majority identify with their current activities and interests.

This finding may startle those now approaching retirement, especially high achievers like doctors, lawyers and executives. But career successes fade into the background quickly, says Nancy Schlossberg, professor emerita of counseling psychology at the University of Maryland. "This isn't just an issue for the highly successful," she says. "I know a 55-year-old roofer who is struggling with what he will be next."

Because your identity in retirement is so tied to your current interests—not necessarily your long career—it is critical that you spend your postcareer years doing something that matters. Failing to find a purpose can lead to depression and myriad health issues, studies show. Researchers at Oregon State University found that healthy adults who retired past age 65 had an 11% lower risk of death from all causes than those who retired early.

"You need to find that sense of self, and have a plan for your time before you quit work," says John Fowler, a wealth manager at McElhenny Sheffield Capital Management in Dallas. Even the financially prepared can run into money problems if they lack meaning and try to spend their way to retirement happiness, Fowler warns.

IN SOME WAYS, the need to prepare emotionally has overtaken the need to prepare financially. Now that the world accepts the oxymoronic notion that we will all work in retirement, there is less pressure to build a giant nest egg. It may not be ideal. But the gig economy makes it easier than ever to plug small holes in a retirement budget. About 400,000 seniors are already earning money via services like Uber, where 1 in 4 drivers is past age 50 and 3% are formerly retired, according to a report from the JPMorgan Chase Institute.

The emotional piece has no easy answers, and the impact can hit fast. Most retirees complete their bucket list within three years and don't know what to do with the next two decades, says Cyndi Hutchins, director of financial gerontology at Merrill Lynch. "We're not very good at knowing how to just enjoy being," she says.

To help with the transition, programs are popping up at universities and community centers across the nation. "People walk in here in a panic and ask, 'How am I going to find meaning now?'" says Laurel Jernigan, life-transitions program manager with the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute at the University of North Carolina at Asheville. The institute hosts weekend boot camps to help new retirees find their new selves.

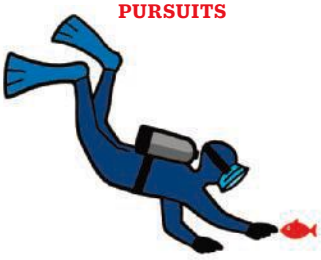
THE KEY IS TO UNDERSTAND what you left behind when you quit work—other than a paycheck—and look for ways to replace the parts that are important, Jernigan says. Connections, structure, engagement, purpose and possibly authority can all be found in leisure pursuits like volunteering, mentoring and new hobbies.

Examine your skills and see how you can apply them to pursuits you enjoy, Jernigan says. One participant in her program was a practicing doctor who taught other doctors. He discovered that teaching was what he most enjoyed and ultimately retired from medicine to organize health lectures.

Examine your dreams or regrets—like the small business you always wanted to run, says Schlossberg. "Is there a piece you can make happen now?" she asks. Above all, says Hutchins, be open to new things. The Merrill report found that years three to 15 of retirement are typically the most satisfying because you are still relatively young and have gotten through the sometimes brutal discovery phase and may have found your new self.

Start asking questions before you quit work. "But don't get hung up on crafting the perfect retirement," says Jernigan. "It's a process, and your wishes will change along the way." As long as you can identify the emotional holes you must fill, you will be fine. □

POST-RETIREMENT PURSUITS



ADVENTURE
In a January Age Wave poll, nearly 90% of retirees said they have greater flexibility to do whatever they want, with two-thirds of retirees preferring to spend their time trying new things.

GLOBE-TROTTING
According to Age Wave research, Americans ages 65 and up will spend $4.6 trillion on travel over the next 20 years. Favorite destinations include Hawaii, New York and Italy.

FREEDOM
Nine out of 10 retirees said they enjoy having a less structured life; nearly 80% of 65-to-74-year-olds reported that they often feel happy.

SOURCE: AGE WAVE WITH MERRILL LYNCH

ILLUSTRATIONS BY TOMASZ WALENTA FOR TIME

BECAUSE SOMEDAY
All my plans will have strings attached.
We can help you make that old 401(k) a part of your complete retirement plan.
• We'll help you build a plan that can adapt as your life –and the markets–change
• You'll get a consolidated view of how your investments are really doing
• You'll have access to a wide variety of Fidelity and non-Fidelity investment options, and the people who can help you choose
Every someday needs a plan.®
If you're ready to move your old 401(k) to a Fidelity IRA, our rollover specialists are here to help.
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America's unseen social crisis: men without work

By Nicholas Eberstadt

OVER THE PAST TWO GENERATIONS, AMERICA HAS SUFfered a quiet catastrophe: the collapse of work—for men. In the half-century between 1965 and 2015, work rates for the American male spiraled relentlessly downward, and an ominous "flight from work" commenced, with ever greater numbers of working-age men exiting the labor force. America is now home to a vast army of jobless men no longer even looking for work—more than 7 million between the ages of 25 and 54, the traditional prime of working life. (Work rates have fallen in recent years for women too, but the male work crisis has been under way much longer and is of greater magnitude.)

In 2015, the work rate (or employment-to-population ratio) for American males ages 25 to 54 was slightly lower than it had been in 1940, at the tail end of the Great Depression. If we were back at 1965 levels today, nearly 10 million additional men would have paying jobs.

The collapse of male work is due almost entirely to a flight out of the labor force—and that flight has on the whole been voluntary. The fact that only 1 in 7 prime-age men are not in the labor force points to a lack of jobs as the reason they are not working.

And just who are these "missing men" whose departure from the workforce has gone all but unnoticed by the rest of us? As one might imagine, a contingent of 7 million contains some of everybody, but certain groups are represented in bigger numbers: less educated men; never-married men and men without children at home; and African Americans. Yet there are also striking exceptions to these general trends: for example, foreign-born blacks are more likely to be in the workforce than native-born whites.

HOW TO EXPLAIN our nation's "men without work" problem? Received wisdom holds this to be a consequence of structural changes in our economy: the decline of manufacturing; the rise of outsourcing and automation; slow growth; and all the rest. It is incontestable that such factors have played a prominent role. But there is clearly more at play in this saga than economic forces alone. Consider: America's prime-male workforce participation has been declining at a virtually linear rate for half a century—a trajectory unaffected by good times or recessions.

In addition to the economic drivers of the "Men Without Work" problem, there is also what we might call the sociological dynamic: a no-work lifestyle for men is no longer an unthinkable option. Quite the contrary: for every prime-age man who is unemployed today, another *three* are neither working nor looking for work.

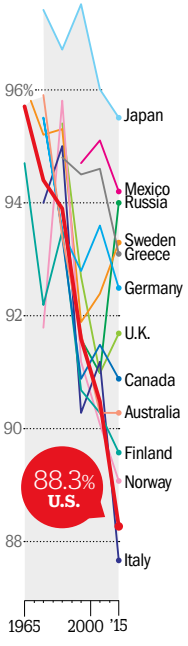
By and large, these unworking men are floated by other household members (wives, girlfriends, relatives) and by Uncle Sam. Government disability programs figure prominently in the calculus of support for unworking men—ever more prominently over time. According to Census Bureau data, nearly three-fifths (57%) of prime-male unworkers in 2013 were obtaining benefits from at least one disability program. No one can prove that disability programs have caused the male flight from work—but there is no doubt they are helping to finance it.

There is one other important piece to this puzzle, and it has to do with crime and punishment. Everyone knows that millions of criminal offenders today are behind bars—but few consider that many millions more are in the general population: ex-prisoners, probation cases and convicted felons who never served time. In all, America may now be home to over 20 million persons with a felony conviction in their past, and over 1 in 8 adult men. Men with a criminal history have much worse odds of being or staying in the labor force, regardless of their ethnicity or educational level. The explosive growth of our felon population, unfortunately, helps to explain some of the otherwise puzzling peculiarities of America's male work crisis.

IT IS PAST TIME for America to recognize the collapse of work for men as the grave ill it truly is. The progressive detachment of so many adult American men from regular paid labor can only result in lower living standards, greater economic disparities and slower economic growth than we might otherwise expect. And the consequences are not just economic. The male exodus from work also undermines the traditional family dynamic, casting men into the role of dependents and encouraging sloth, idleness and vices perhaps more insidious.

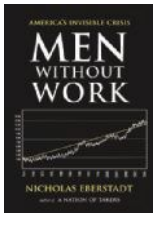
Whether we choose to recognize it or not, the new "men without work" normal is inimical to the American tradition and the nation's very ethos. We need to bring this crisis out of the shadows. As long as we allow it to remain invisible, we can expect it to continue, and even to worsen.

The percentage of men in the U.S. ages 25 to 54 who work has dropped 8 percentage points in 50 years to a level lower than in most developed countries



SOURCE: OECD

Eberstadt's Men Without Work: America's Invisible Crisis *(Templeton Press) is out now*



Eberstadt holds the Henry Wendt Chair in Political Economy at the American Enterprise Institute

Heroin, Obamacare and pride: why Trump is finding an audience in southern Ohio

By Joe Klein

I HAD A MEMORABLE EXPERIENCE IN JACKSON, OHIO, IN 2012. This is hillbilly country, the northwestern edge of Appalachia. Susan Rogers, who works for a local public-service agency, asked me to come visit. She put together an extraordinary group of people—ministers, government workers, the mayor, the state representative—all of whom, it seemed, had friends, family or neighbors who were in jail or rehab, victims of the methamphetamine plague. They were reeling, unable to comprehend what had hit them; emotions were running strong. I decided to go back this year, to hear what the group had to say about the presidential election. "This is a big Trump area," Rogers told me. "People who never were involved in politics are coming out of the woodwork."

Unfortunately, not many of those folks showed up at our meeting, which was held at Rowdy's Smokehouse, a new restaurant in town that is a small sign of optimism in an economically struggling area that has since moved from meth to heroin, which is cheaper. The remainder of the group tended to be educators, social workers, government employees—the Hillary faction in town. The mayor, Randy Heath, was there, but he was a lonely moderate Democrat. "Six of the seven members of the city council are Republicans," he said, "and they're all for Trump." Mary Deel, a retired teacher who works for the election commission—and a strong Clinton supporter—told me that there were a lot of local Democrats who had changed their registration to vote for Trump in the primary. But when I asked why so many of their neighbors were vehemently supporting a candidate they considered unqualified, they didn't have much to say. Just as the meeting seemed to be losing steam, Rogers whispered, "There are a bunch of Trump supporters out in the kitchen who'd like to talk to you."

AND SO I MET WITH THEM, AFTERWARD. They included Nathan Kitts, the owner of Rowdy's, who had opened the joint on a Monday night to accommodate the meeting—and the local sheriff, Tedd Frazier, who had helped Nathan cook the excellent barbecue buffet, as well as several of Nathan's friends. "I'm a Trump supporter, I guess," said the restaurant owner. "I know he's a loose cannon and he has trouble with diplomacy, and you wonder, will he get us into some bad stuff?" But Nathan had another business, an urgent-care medical clinic. He was outraged by how the health-insurance system worked and doubted that Clinton could fix it. "It works if you're poor or you're rich, but if you're in between, making $25-$30,000, your deductibles are so high, you're essentially self-insuring."

Jason Gillum, a local insurance agent and musician, agreed about the medical-insurance situation and said maybe the government should get the private insurers out of the way. "I've run your numbers, Nate," he said. "You're paying $740 a month with a $6,500 deductible. Ten years ago, I had you at $282 a month and a $1,500 deductible for the same coverage." Gillum was voting for Trump, though: "Yeah, I know he's a narcissist. But he's a businessman, and we're all entrepreneurs. He knows that if you think big and put your mind to it, you can make things happen. Maybe he can make this country proud again. He gives me a sense of hope."

I ASKED THE GROUP about Trump's rather weird relationship with Vladimir Putin, and Gillum said, "I haven't researched that issue." Indeed, it seemed the Trump supporters were less obsessed with the daily run of campaign controversy. They didn't seem to care much about Trump's lies or exaggerations, nor did they mention immigrants or Muslims. Trump lived in the world of business, as they did. He knew all about the paperwork they had to fill out, the financial risks they took, the month-to-month vagaries of keeping a small business open. Clinton had absolutely nothing to say to them about their daily lives—and I wondered where her vaunted small-business initiative, announced early in the campaign, had gone. "The only thing she says about us is she wants to put our coal miners out of business," said Donald Willis, the local jail administrator.

Jackson, Ohio, Mayor Randy Heath, center, at a town forum to air a range of political views

I asked the Trump supporters why they hadn't joined the larger group earlier in the evening. They smiled, knowingly. They knew who the Hillary folks were. They were neighbors, so why risk unpleasantness? In Ohio, routinely labeled a battleground state, some battles are too toxic to be fought in public. ◻

ANDREW SPEAR FOR TIME

Austrians cheer presidential candidate Norbert Hofer at a Freedom Party event in Vienna on Sept. 6

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTIAN BRUNA

EUROPE SWINGS RIGHT

Austria is poised to elect a far-right President, in the clearest sign yet of a continental drift rightward. By Simon Shuster/Vienna

AS RECENTLY AS A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO, WHEN Max Geishüttner was in his second year of law school in the Austrian city of Linz, he tended to avoid talking about his support for the country's Freedom Party. It wasn't exactly taboo, but a lot of Austrians still associated the party with racism, even neo-Nazism. Its first two leaders, from 1956 to 1978, were former SS officers, and their successors in the years that followed were implicated in a series of scandals over anti-Semitism and Holocaust denial. In the homeland of Adolf Hitler, who also went to school in Linz, such a reputation seemed an impossible obstacle to popular acceptance in a Europe that was supposed to have left such prejudices behind.

"So you would feel, like, a bad conscience if you say, 'I vote for the FPO,'" Geishüttner told me at one of the party's campaign rallies in mid-September, using the Freedom Party's German abbreviation. But 2016 is different. Thanks to a broader shift to the right in European politics, the FPO has become the most popular party in Austria, with its support growing fastest among voters younger than 30. Its presidential candidate, Norbert Hofer, is well positioned to win a runoff election in December, which would make Austria the first country in Western Europe to elect a far-right head of state since the fall of Nazi Germany. "Now it's normal," said Geishüttner.

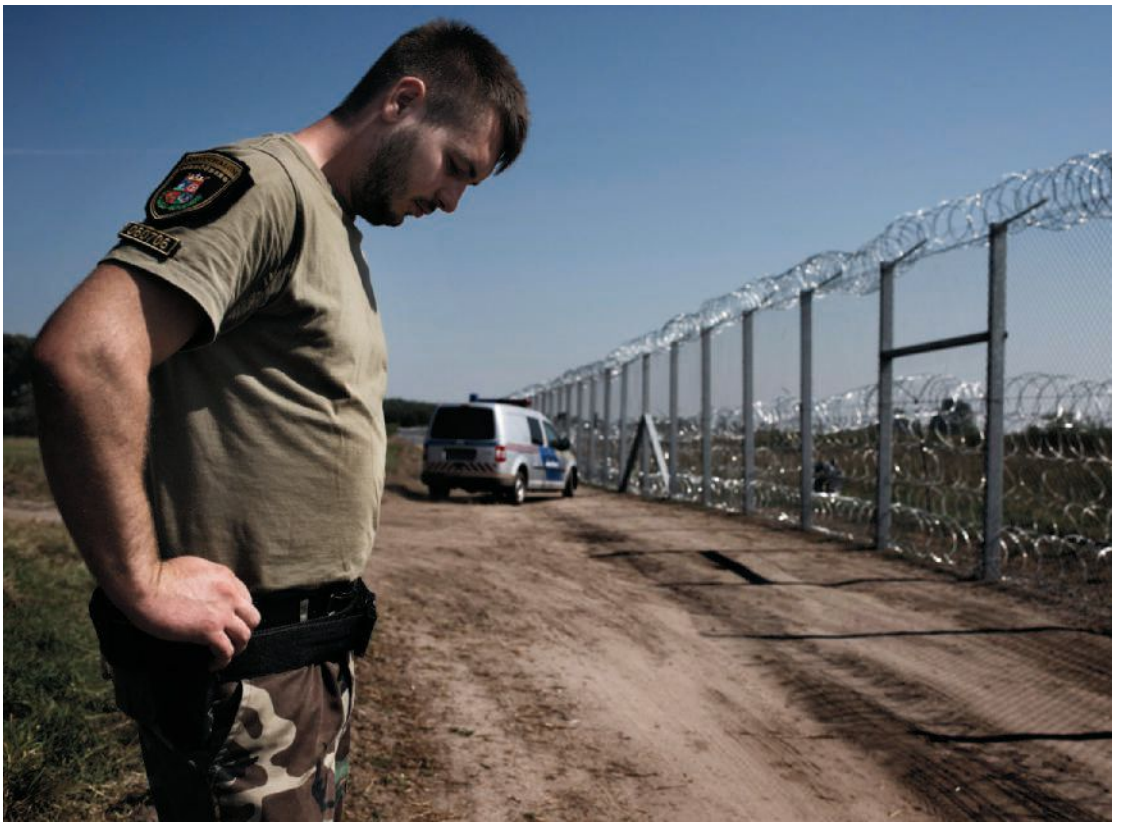
The Freedom Party's rise is not an anomaly. Across the once placid political landscape of Western Europe, right-wing upstarts have created what Jean-Claude Juncker, president of the European Commission, recently termed "galloping populism." He was referring to movements like the Sweden Democrats, the National Front in France, the Party for Freedom in the Netherlands and other voices on the far right calling for their once open countries to close up and turn inward. But the insurgency is not limited to Europe. All the rising rightist parties are aligned with Republican presidential candidate Donald Trump in what they encourage voters to fear: migrants taking your jobs, Muslims threatening your culture and security, political correctness threatening your ability to speak your mind and, above all, entrenched elites selling you out in the service of the wealthy and well-connected.

In the case of Austria, the man responsible for harnessing this formula is Heinz-Christian Strache, a fast-talking, telegenic former dental technician who took over as FPO chairman in 2005. Back then, the party's approval ratings were in the single digits, weighed down by claims of anti-Semitism that had dogged its upper ranks for years. But Strache changed the party's image. Support for the state of Israel became part of its platform, and its new leaders renounced the aversion that their predecessors had expressed toward Jews. Instead, Strache focused his party's hostility on a different minority group: Muslims.

FRANCE A meeting of the National Front party in Paris on May 1. The National Front's leader, Marine Le Pen, is a front runner for the country's presidential election next year

GERMANY A rally for Alternative for Germany (AfD) in the city of Mecklenburg on Sept. 1. AfD won a surprise victory in a regional election and is poised to enter the national parliament

PREVIOUS PAGES: EPA; THESE PAGES, FROM LEFT TO RIGHT: LORENZO MELONI—MAGNUM; YURI KOZYREV—NOOR FOR TIME; CHRISTIAN JUNGEBLODT—



HUNGARY A member of a local militia in Asotthalom patrols a fence erected on the Serbian border by Laszlo Toroczkai, the village's far-right mayor, to keep migrants out

BRITAIN A supporter of the U.K. Independence Party (UKIP) at a meeting in Clacton-on-Sea, a town in eastern England, on Aug. 25. UKIP long supported Britain pulling out of the E.U.

LAIF/REDUX; NEIL HALL—REUTERS

"Political Islam," he told TIME in an interview in his office in Vienna, "is the fascism of today, and that is what we have to fight." Such claims would have once been met with outrage in Europe, but no longer. Amid the political backlash to the refugee crisis in the summer of 2015, when more than a million asylum seekers from around the Muslim world came streaming into the E.U., a patchwork of populist movements have begun to call for Europeans to shut their borders to Muslim migrants, close Islamic schools and ban Muslim women from covering their hair or face in public. And they're winning.

In recent months, the resurgence of nationalism across the E.U. has become so powerful that parties from the political mainstream have been forced to tilt sharply to the right as well, often retreating from their core principles of tolerance, openness and diversity. In France, some municipalities have banned Muslim women from fully covering themselves with so-called burkinis while swimming or lounging at certain beaches. The Danish parliament approved a controversial "jewelry law" in January that allows the government to confiscate valuables from arriving asylum seekers to help finance their accommodation.

Even the most seemingly far-fetched electoral upsets have begun to seem plausible, especially after the U.K. shocked the world by voting in June to leave the E.U. Brexit was driven in large part by the anti-immigrant rhetoric of the U.K. Independence Party, which has long called for Britain to shut its borders. The result cost then Prime Minister David Cameron his job, and the impact on E.U. integration—and on the British economy—is expected to be severe. But Trump, notably, has voiced his enthusiastic support. He has even linked himself to the insurgent forces that drove the Leave vote by saying on Twitter that he would soon be known as Mr. Brexit.

IT WON'T END with the U.K. Right-wing parties in France, the Netherlands and elsewhere have called for their own Brexit-style plebiscites on E.U. membership. Faced with pressure from the E.U. to accept their share of refugees, officials in Slovakia, Estonia, Bulgaria and Poland have said they want to take only Christian asylum seekers or none at all. The nationalist government in Hungary even called a referendum on the issue for Oct. 2, and the results are practically a foregone conclusion: Hungarians are sure to reject the E.U.'s plan for refugee resettlement, further eroding the union. Even in Germany, where shame over the Nazis has long provided resistance to the pull of nationalism, the far-right Alternative for Germany party (AfD) has broken into the mainstream. In a local election in early September, the AfD got more votes than the conservative party of Chancellor Angela Merkel in her own electoral district (both finished behind the Social Democrats). In another local election, held in Berlin on Sept. 18, Merkel's Christian Democratic Union recorded its worst result in the capital ever.

Merkel has acknowledged that unhappiness over her refugee policy has helped drive some of her recent electoral losses, but she has also warned about the rising threat on the right. "The AfD is a challenge for all of us in this house," she told a session of the German parliament on Sept. 7. Ahead of national elections scheduled for next fall, when the AfD is almost sure to enter the federal parliament for the first time, Merkel urged her fellow lawmakers to resist the "easy solutions" that the party is offering. "I am quite certain," she said, "if we bite our tongues and stick to the truth, then we'll win back the most important thing that we need, the trust of the people."

But that approach has not worked out so well in Austria. The FPO, which took about a fifth of the seats in parliament during the 2013 election, has begun routinely winning state and municipal votes. Strache, its leader, has set his sights on the position of Chancellor, the nation's top post, and has a good chance of taking it if his party maintains its popularity ahead of the next parliamentary vote in 2018. This past spring, before the ballot to elect a new President of Austria—a largely ceremonial role—Strache chose Hofer, his more mild-mannered protégé, to run on behalf of the party. The choice, Strache told me, was geared toward winning sympathy from voters who might otherwise balk at supporting a nationalist. Endowed with a disarming smile and an almost boyish earnestness, Hofer, 45, likes to pad his speeches with stories of the paragliding accident that nearly left him paralyzed in 2003. "That personal history gives him legitimacy," Strache says. And among the FPO's base, so does the fact that Hofer carries a pistol for self-defense, one made by the Austrian company Glock.

In the first round of voting in April, Hofer came out on top in a field of six candidates, winning 35% of the vote, the FPO's best result ever in a presidential ballot. He narrowly lost in the runoff, but the Constitutional Court annulled the result because of vote-counting violations. Opinion polls suggest that Hofer is likely to win the revote, scheduled for December.

More surprising than a far-right President in the heart of Europe is the fact that so many Austrians are nonplussed by the prospect. "Most people just don't associate the Freedom Party with the far right anymore," says Günter Haunlieb, a senior director at Gallup International, a leading pollster in Vienna. "The Nazi label doesn't stick." Voters do, however, associate the mainstream parties with the period of economic stagnation that took hold after the global financial crisis of 2008. Unlike Greece, Spain and other debt-wracked E.U. members, Austria came away from the crisis relatively healthy, and its economy has returned to growth. But as in the

THE RIGHT-WING MOMENTUM

Fueled by E.U. skepticism and anti-immigration sentiments, far-right political parties are gaining support across Europe

AUSTRIA

In May's presidential elections, the far-right Freedom Party lost by just 31,000 votes to a left-wing candidate. But because of miscounted ballots, there will be a rerun in December.

GERMANY

The Alternative for Germany party, which formed in 2013 on an E.U.-critical platform, now has representation in 10 of the country's 16 state parliaments.

U.K.

The Brexit campaign to leave the E.U., driven by the U.K. Independence Party, successfully pulled in 52% of the referendum vote in June.

SWEDEN

The Sweden Democrats party won 13% of the vote in the 2014 elections, up from 6% in 2010—the first year it secured representation since its founding in 1988.

U.S., the crisis has left Austrians feeling unmoored, fearful of losing what they still have. "A steady job previously guaranteed a comfortable life here," says Haunlieb. "But that's finished. People have stopped believing they can move up the social ladder."

THERE IS HARDLY a democracy in Europe where that same sentiment would not ring true. Countries in the formerly communist East have been hit especially hard by factory closures, high unemployment and an exodus of young workers to the wealthier states of Western Europe. Trump and his doppelgängers along the Danube have been able to capitalize not only on fears of migration but also on angst over economic inequality, often with what seem like the same slogans in different languages. On immigration: Send them back! On Muslims: Keep them out! On the media: Full of lies! On the Establishment: Crooked! On the elections: Rigged! Even their tactics seem to run in parallel, especially when it comes to the politics of fear.

During a recent campaign event in Berlin, Georg Pazderski, one of the leaders of the AfD, was asked why Germans feel so afraid of mass migration even though, according to official statistics, the influx of asylum seekers has not led to a substantial increase in crime or poverty. He replied with a famous line from the Republican strategist Lee Atwater. "Perception is reality," Pazderski said in English before expanding on the maxim in German: "What people feel is what they perceive as reality. And at the moment, our citizens feel unwell, insecure."

It hardly matters that such feelings may not be grounded in fact. The influx of refugees slowed to a trickle in recent months after Europeans closed their borders to transiting migrants and reached a deal with Turkey to keep refugee boats off European shores. But that has done little to calm public fears of being overrun. In a 2015 survey titled "Perils of Perception," the British research group Ipsos MORI found that Europeans tend to grossly overestimate the number of foreigners who are actually in their countries. In Germany, respondents said, on average, that 26% of the population was born abroad; the actual number is 12%. The discrepancy was about the same in France, Belgium, the U.K. and the Netherlands.

For European elites, such chasms between feelings and facts are frustrating. "We come from the tradition of the European Enlightenment, the Age of Reason," says Michael Häupl, the elder statesman of Austria's ruling party, the Social Democrats, who has served as mayor of Vienna since 1994. "So we find it extremely hard to face down the emotional force of right-wing populism using rational arguments." That is what gives the FPO its power, he says: "It lives off the emotion of fear, and it's a lot harder to take these fears away than to create them."

Häupl should know. At the height of Europe's refugee crisis in the summer of 2015, the mayor faced off against Strache in the re-election fight of his career. With his usual flair for street-level politics, Strache dispatched activists to protest the settlement of refugees, and he made a Trumpian promise to build a barrier along the border with Hungary to keep any more asylum seekers from getting in. Even in Vienna, which has been governed by the left-wing Social Democrats since the city was left in ruins after World War II, such rhetoric struck a chord. Strache secured 31% of the vote, more than the FPO has ever won in the Austrian capital. But Häupl still managed to hang on to the mayoralty—if not his commitment to rationalist politics.

Reflecting on the race in his office, the mayor made a surprising admission: he was also forced to base his campaign on emotions. Last fall, in the heat of Vienna's elections, a photo of Syrian toddler Alan Kurdi, lying dead on a Turkish beach after drowning, grabbed the world's attention. One week before that, 71 migrants suffocated to death on a highway in Austria after smugglers sealed them inside a refrigerated truck. Four children were among the dead, including a baby girl. "These are tragedies," said Häupl. "No one wants to see these images. But they did help our campaign."

Yet if the vote had taken place after New Year's Eve, when gangs of asylum seekers were accused of sexually assaulting scores of German women in Cologne and other cities, Strache might be the mayor of Vienna today. It is a sobering thought for Europe's generation of old-school liberals and integrationists. The values always invoked as pillars of the European project—open borders, open minds—are losing ground to what Martin Schulz, president of the European Parliament, recently called the "demons" of the 20th century. "We brought these demons under control through European structures," he told Germany's *Der Spiegel* magazine. "But if we destroy those structures, the demons will return."

The structures in Austria are looking decidedly unstable. During a campaign rally in mid-September, supporters of the Freedom Party gathered in a giant beer hall in the town of Wels, many dressed for the occasion in traditional folk costumes—lederhosen for the men and dirndls for the women. Making his way through the crowd, Geishüttner, the law student and FPO supporter, helped distribute cardboard masks printed with the face of their presidential front runner, along with the slogan I AM HOFER.

The candidate launched into his talking points against the biased media and corrupt political elites, the same kinds of grievances Americans have been hearing throughout their own election season. "The more they fight me," Hofer said of the Establishment, "the stronger I become." As he smiled from the stage, thousands of copies of his face stared back at him, a sea of identical likenesses. □

ITALY
The once fringe Northern League party has had several victories recently, including taking 20% of the vote in the traditionally left-leaning Tuscan region last year.

DENMARK
Ultra-conservative parties are emerging in a crowded political field. A June poll found that 1 in 4 would vote for a new party that promises tighter refugee policies.

HUNGARY
The Prime Minister has shifted right, toughening policies against migrants. A recent poll found that 68% of Hungarians were satisfied with the way the government handles illegal border crossings.

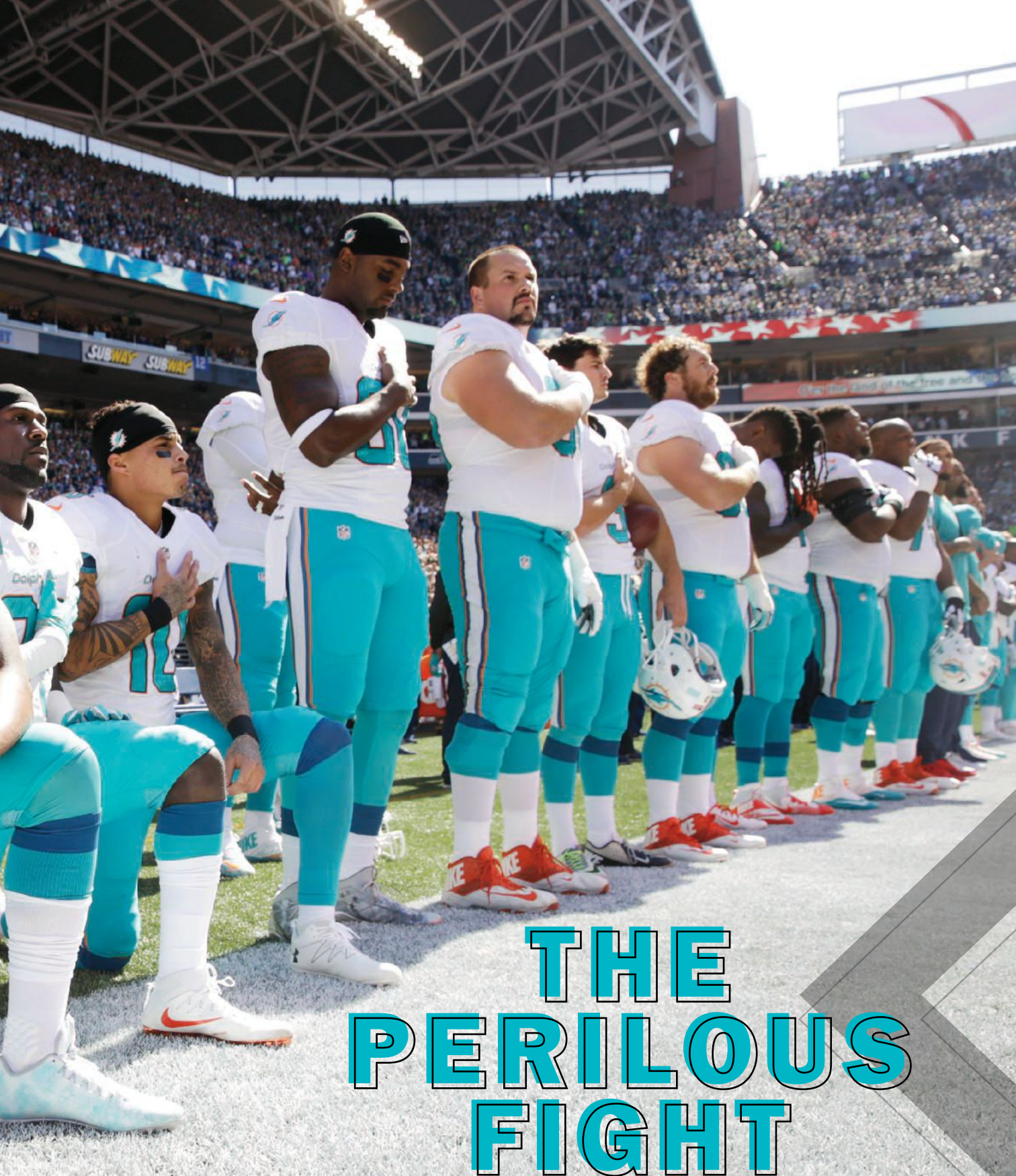
FRANCE
The National Front party has gained support after recent terrorist attacks, winning a record 6.8 million votes out of 25 million in regional elections last year.

THE NETHERLANDS
An August poll showed that if general elections were held today, the Party for Freedom would secure 33 seats—the largest share in the country's 150-seat parliament.

Nation

From left, Miami Dolphins Jelani Jenkins, Arian Foster, Michael Thomas and Kenny Stills kneel during the national anthem in Seattle on Sept. 11

PHOTOGRAPH BY STEPHEN BRASHEAR



THE PERILOUS FIGHT

FROM NFL STADIUMS TO HIGH SCHOOL SIDELINES, ATHLETES ARE PROTESTING DURING THE NATIONAL ANTHEM—AND FUELING A DEBATE ABOUT HOW AMERICA DEFINES PATRIOTISM

BY SEAN GREGORY

EIGHT DAYS AFTER SAN FRANCISCO 49ERS QUARTERBACK COLIN KAEPERNICK dropped to his knee as the national anthem was played before a Sept. 1 NFL preseason game in San Diego, Preston Brown gathered the Woodrow Wilson High School football team on their practice field nearly 3,000 miles away in Camden, N.J. Like his young, mostly African-American players, Brown grew up in the ailing city outside Philadelphia, and its bleak statistics—52% of kids below the poverty line, a college-graduation rate under 9%—left a lasting mark. "Come and experience some of the things these kids have to go through," says Brown. "We're hurting, we're in pain. We see injustices."

So on Sept. 9, one day before Woodrow Wilson's first game of the season, the coach stood on the field and announced that he planned to follow Kaepernick's lead and kneel during the national anthem to protest racial injustice. The players were welcome, but not required, to join him. All but two did.

They were far from alone. In the weeks since Kaepernick began his protest, athletes across the country have taken a knee, locked arms or raised a fist during the anthem. The movement has spread from NFL Sundays to college-football Saturdays to the Friday-night lights of high school games and even trickled down into the peewee ranks, where a youth team in Texas decided they, too, needed to take a stand by kneeling.

By the third week of the NFL season, the protests had been echoed on volleyball courts in West Virginia, football fields in Nebraska and at a baseball stadium in Oakland, Calif., where a school band knelt during its performance of the anthem before the A's played the Houston Astros. And on Sept. 15, the movement reached the international stage when Megan Rapinoe, an openly gay member of the U.S. women's soccer team, kneeled for the anthem before a match against Thailand.

Players from Garfield High School in Seattle kneel during the anthem Sept. 16

"I thought a lot about it, read a lot about it and just felt, How can I not kneel too?" Rapinoe tells TIME. "I know what it's like to look at the flag and not have all your rights."

All challenges to the social order provoke strong reactions, but these protests have been particularly divisive. "The Star-Spangled Banner" has been a ritual before American sporting events since World War II, as professional leagues have made a concerted effort to associate their brand with love of country. None has done so with more fervor than the NFL, whose product is the most-watched sport in America. For many fans, Kaepernick's act of defiance was more than an unwelcome intrusion of politics into their leisure time—it was a rejection of the nation itself. Military veterans called the protesters unpatriotic, police unions threatened to stop providing security at NFL games, and Donald Trump suggested that Kaepernick could find another country to call home. Kaepernick has reported receiving death threats. In the fever pitch of social media, even the youngest protesters were called the *N* word and threatened with lynching, while far more reasoned critics supported the message but took issue with the medium.

"I would not challenge our flag," NFL Hall of Famer and civil rights activist Jim Brown tells TIME. "I would not do anything that has to do with respecting the flag or the national anthem. I don't think it's appropriate."

Perhaps it was inevitable that in the final months of one of the most divisive presidential campaigns in memory, even communal refuges would turn into cultural battlegrounds. For decades, professional athletes have been counseled by coaches, agents and other advisers to avoid controversy. Doing otherwise could

jeopardize lucrative endorsement deals or their hard-won place on the team. But that mind-set has begun to change in recent years. Spurred by the death of Trayvon Martin and the fatal shootings of unarmed African Americans, players in the NBA and NFL—both leagues made up predominantly of black men, many from underserved backgrounds—have started to speak out in ways that recall an earlier generation of activist-athletes.

The first steps were tentative—a tweet of solidarity with Black Lives Matter, a photo of players in hoodies. But as the debate over equality, opportunity and the treatment of minorities in America grew into a national concern, the stances have gotten stronger, the gestures bolder. And so when Kaepernick used his perch to question whether the nation was living up to its ideals, a silent protest was primed to make a big noise.

THE CATALYST for this unlikely culture war was supposed to have had a quiet season. Raised by white adoptive parents in Turlock, Calif., Kaepernick starred at the University of Nevada before leading the 49ers to the Super Bowl in 2013. But injuries derailed his fledgling career, and the former franchise star with a $114 million contract found himself relegated to a backup role. Off the field, Kaepernick's interest in the world beyond football appeared to grow, with his social-media feeds reflecting a rising concern about social-justice issues, particularly the fatal shootings of African Americans by police. After another fraught summer of racial violence, Kaepernick decided that the time was right to use a platform available to few others.

At first, not many people noticed when he sat on the bench in street clothes during the national anthem. But in the third preseason game, on Aug. 26, Kaepernick sat down while in uniform. Asked about it later by a reporter for NFL.com, he didn't flinch: "I am not going to stand up to show pride in a flag for a country that oppresses black people and people of color," Kaepernick said. "To me, this is bigger than football, and it would be selfish on my part to look the other way. There are bodies in the street and people getting paid leave and getting away with murder."

The criticism came hard and fast. Steve King, a Republican Congressman from Iowa, said that Kaepernick was "undermining patriotism" and that his activism was "sympathetic to ISIS." The Santa Clara, Calif., police union threatened to boycott 49ers games. A mattress store in suburban Chicago turned his jersey into a doormat. "I don't want him anywhere near my team," an anonymous NFL executive told Bleacher Report. "He's a traitor."

An exchange with Nate Boyer, a former Green Beret who briefly played in the NFL, prompted Kaepernick to modify his protest from sitting out to taking a knee as a way to acknowledge the significance of the anthem while still making his point clear. The change only complicated the debate. Kneeling is an act of humility, a way to diminish the self in the presence of something larger. Doing so before the national anthem can turn its performance from a rote observance into a deeper examination of its meaning. "He has established a posture of saying he's down on his knees pleading for America to live up to its preachments," says the Rev. Amos Brown, a civil rights leader in San Francisco. "And if people in this nation can't get it and don't like it, it reflects how racist, how unkind, how narrow, how xenophobic and how sick-souled they are."

'AT SOME POINT, TWITTER HASHTAGS AREN'T ENOUGH. EVENTUALLY, YOU HAVE TO STAND UP.'

—KENNY STILLS, MIAMI DOLPHINS

Plenty of measured critics say Kaepernick has chosen the wrong venue for his protest. "For those who don't like standing because they disagree with what America has done, stand and pay it forward for what you think America should do," retired Army General Martin Dempsey wrote in *USA Today*.

Others think the stage could not be better suited. The anthem's lyrics—an ode to America's promise, along with questions about whether it's living up to it—can be read both as a tribute to the nation's ideals and an invitation to challenge them. And doing the latter before an audience of millions watching on TV is a particularly bold act, says John Carlos, a former track-and-field star whose own protest on the medal platform at the 1968 Olympics was seen by some as a similar affront. "Where else is he going to make a statement where he's going to reach the far ends of the earth?" Carlos says.

A number of NFL players have taken up Kaepernick's cause. On Sept. 1, his teammate Eric Reid knelt alongside him while Seattle Seahawks cornerback Jeremy Lane sat out in solidarity. Soon a group text-message chain formed among more than 70 NFL players debating how they should respond. Denver Broncos linebacker Brandon Marshall knelt during the anthem on Sept. 8, the NFL's opening night—a stance that cost him two endorsement deals. Three days later, on the 15th anniversary of Sept. 11, four members of the Miami Dolphins knelt, and Kansas City Chiefs defensive back Marcus Peters raised his fist during the song, while New England Patriots Martellus Bennett and Devin McCourty did the same after the anthem was finished. "If you see something you feel is wrong in society, why not help out? Why not try to raise awareness?" says McCourty.

OPENING PAGES: AP; THESE PAGES: DEAN RUTZ—THE SEATTLE TIMES

THE NEW STATE OF PLAY

In recent decades, high-profile athletes sought to avoid wading into controversial social and political issues. But that has begun to change as a new wave of players use their platforms to speak out about life off the field

CENTER STAGE At the 2016 ESPY Awards, Carmelo Anthony, Chris Paul, Dwyane Wade and LeBron James call for an end to gun violence

A NATIONAL STAND U.S. soccer player Megan Rapinoe kneels during the anthem before a Sept. 15 game against Thailand

On Sept. 19, the same day that Tulsa, Okla., police released footage of an officer killing Terence Crutcher, an unarmed black man whose hands were up, Philadelphia Eagles players raised their fists during the anthem on Monday Night Football. "We're not doing this made-up thing to get attention," Malcolm Jenkins, one of the Eagles who protested, tells TIME. "Real lives are being lost. Real communities are being affected. The negativity comes from people's unwillingness to digest the hard truth."

That truth has been apparent to the athletes on college and high school teams across the country who have joined in. "Police come to your community, and they chase you around," says Niamey Harris, the 17-year-old captain and quarterback for San Francisco's Mission High School, who suggested that his team begin kneeling. "I feel like they treat you like you're an intruder or something, like you're not supposed to be here, and that's not how I want to live the rest of my life. That's not right."

Similar concerns motivated the young players on the Beaumont, Texas, Bulls. "Their fear was, 'O.K., we're cute little boys now, but in a few years we're going to be looked at as black men,'" says April Parkerson, whose son Jaelun, 11, is a running back on the team. "And the statistics that come along with that are quite scary." The parents say they expected a backlash but weren't prepared for the *N* word to be flung at their preteen sons. "The coaches need to be lynched," one person wrote on the team's Facebook page, Parkerson said. "Kill them all," wrote another.

The angry reactions have so far had the opposite effect, helping to recruit more athletes to the cause. "I did it because I feel like people are doubting Colin, saying that if he hates America, he can leave," says West Virginia University Institute of Technology senior Keyonna Morrow, 21, who knelt with two volleyball teammates before a Sept. 7 game. "But really expressing his First Amendment right to choose to sit or stand, I think that was him showing how much he loves America."

IT HAS BEEN nearly half a century since athletes waded this deeply into such charged territory. In the 1960s, many black athletes fought alongside political leaders during the civil rights movement. But there have always been consequences for sticking one's neck out. Muhammad Ali lost the prime of his career after refusing to fight in Vietnam, and Carlos and fellow American sprinter Tommie Smith were suspended after raising their black-gloved fists in the air as "The Star-Spangled Banner" played during their medal ceremony at the 1968 Olympics.

While athletes including tennis players Arthur Ashe and Billie Jean King continued the fight for racial and gender equality in the '70s, a message, particularly in team sports, began to take hold: Say little and offend no one. Be grateful for the opportunities you have. Doing otherwise could cost a player dearly, especially as the value of contracts and endorsement deals grew.

"The agents tell these young people that you can get endorsements, you can get a lot of money, don't rock the boat," says Jim Brown, who was among a group of athletes who supported Ali in his fight against the draft. "Money becomes the objective, and individuals protect their image, make sure they have the right image so that they can represent corporations. And now what is happening is there seems to be a reversal."

According to former NBA player Baron Davis, attitudes began to shift during the 2008 election as high-wattage stars waded into politics to support Barack Obama. Players like Chris Paul and Grant Hill endorsed him, and LeBron James co-hosted a rally for the candidate with Jay Z in October 2008. "That election made athletes choose sides," says Davis.

The engagement deepened in 2012, when the killing of Trayvon Martin prompted James, Dwyane Wade and other Miami Heat players to post a photo of themselves wearing hoodies. Then came the 2014 deaths of Eric Garner, Michael Brown and Tamir Rice at the hands of police. Not long after, five St. Louis Rams players entered the field making "Hands up, don't shoot" gestures, a Cleveland Browns wide receiver wore a JUSTICE FOR TAMIR RICE warm-up shirt before a game, and a group of NBA players, James among them, wore I CAN'T BREATHE shirts during the pre-game shoot-around in an acknowledgment of Garner's last words.

The months before Kaepernick's protest saw more instances of high-profile stars speaking out. In July, following the fatal shootings of black men in Baton Rouge, La., and Minnesota and the massacre of five Dallas police officers, a number of WNBA players wore shirts with #BLACKLIVESMATTER

HEAVY HEARTS In July, players from the New York Liberty wear black warm-up clothes to support Black Lives Matter

THE CATALYST San Francisco 49ers Eric Reid, left, and Colin Kaepernick kneel together for the anthem on Sept. 18

A MOVEMENT SPREADS The Minneapolis South High School girls' volleyball team joins the protest on Sept. 15

and #DALLAS5 hashtags—prompting fines that the league later rescinded. That same month, James, Wade, Paul and fellow NBA star Carmelo Anthony opened the ESPY Awards with a call to action. "The racial profiling has to stop," said Wade, a Chicago native whose cousin Nykea Aldridge was killed by a stray bullet there in August. "The shoot-to-kill mentality has to stop. Not seeing the value of black and brown bodies has to stop. But also the retaliation has to stop. The endless gun violence in places like Chicago, Dallas, not to mention Orlando—it has to stop. Enough."

Even Michael Jordan, long the embodiment of the offend-none, profit-from-all sports star, has gotten involved, pledging $1 million each to the Institute for Community-Police Relations and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund.

The players cite a number of reasons for this renewed interest in broader causes. Social media, for one, has forced them to become more aware of the world around them, ensuring that even the tight bubble of the locker room is punctured by the latest viral police shooting. "It's kind of crazy to imagine how we used to find out information," Paul tells TIME. "I may be in practice or at a game, and then when the game is over I can pick up the phone and all the information is there. And I actually see video of things. Now it's not what someone said happened. Now you can see footage and video and decide for yourself."

What they see has been galvanizing, particularly for African-American men who recognize parts of themselves in the bodies on the news. "At some point in time, Twitter hashtags aren't enough," says Miami Dolphins wide receiver Kenny Stills, one of the players who took a knee for the anthem. "Eventually, you have to stand up and try to bring some change."

NOT LONG AFTER KAEPERNICK first explained his protest, Seattle Seahawks coach Pete Carroll invited Harry Edwards, a sociologist and activist who helped organize the black-power salute at the 1968 Olympics, to talk to his team. Scheduled for 90 minutes, the meeting stretched to more than three hours as players debated how they should respond, Edwards says. What they ultimately decided on—locking arms during the anthem as a way to show unity as a team if not uniformity in their opinions—matters less, Edwards says, than how they got there. "This process with athletes, on these teams, models what we need to do and where we need to go as a society," he says.

Locking arms, taking a knee in protest: symbols have meaning, but the question hovering over the current movement is how protest can add up to progress. "All these guys that are a part of this, I completely honor their right to do it," says Boyer, the veteran who helped prompt Kaepernick to switch from sitting to kneeling. "But it is imperative that they are part of the solution, that they are taking action themselves."

Many are trying. After he began his protest, Kaepernick's jersey became the top-selling one in the NFL, outpacing those of stars like Tom Brady. He has pledged to donate $1 million to community-based organizations, parceled out monthly in $100,000 increments, and has promised to track the ways the money is spent. Edwards is pushing for athletes, police and other community stakeholders to hold regular dialogue in neighborhood barbershops. McCourty, the New England Patriots safety, says he wants to meet with Boston's police chief. Jenkins, the Philadelphia Eagles cornerback who raised a fist on Monday Night Football, has a ride-along with local police set up for late September in an attempt to bridge the communication gap between officers and residents.

"The worst thing I think you can do as a football player," says Jenkins, "is to have gotten to this stage, had the presence that you've had, and leave this game as just a football player."

Meanwhile, the movement they began shows no signs of slowing. Victor Oladipo, a guard on the Oklahoma City Thunder, says he expects NBA players to join in when their preseason begins in October. And on fields in places from Alaska to Nebraska, young athletes will continue on. "I don't know if they'll use this as a stepping-stone to think about other means of change in society," says Eric Guthertz, the principal of San Francisco's Mission High School, whose football team has embraced the protests. "Maybe the ultimate impact will be just how they carry themselves in the world, and that will be beautiful." —*With reporting by* ABIGAIL ABRAMS, ELIANA DOCKTERMAN *and* MERRILL FABRY/NEW YORK; LILY ROTHMAN/DURHAM; *and* KATY STEINMETZ/SAN FRANCISCO

ESPYS: RAPINOE: GETTY IMAGES; NEW YORK LIBERTY, SAN FRANCISCO 49ERS: AP; MINNEAPOLIS SOUTH HIGH SCHOOL: SHAUN KING

Kaepernick had no choice but to kneel

BY JOHN MCWHORTER

Kaepernick supporters show their solidarity on Aug. 31 outside San Francisco's Police Officers Association office

The idea that Colin Kaepernick's refusal to stand during the national anthem is unpatriotic fails doubly: first, in a mistaken notion of what real patriotism is, and second in missing a larger point.

For one, the idea that to not stand while the anthem is played signals a lack of allegiance to one's nation is simplistic to the point of stretching plausibility, seemingly designed more as a way to hate on someone than to grapple with the complexities of the real world. Is patriotism a matter of either/or? Perhaps in terms of military service, although we find gray lines even there.

Elsewhere, however, critique and even scolding are fundamental facets of loving. What would be unpatriotic of Kaepernick, given his views, would be to refrain from sitting out the national anthem out of an unreflective sense of patriotism as an on/off switch. Kaepernick thinks his country is capable of changing and wants to help it do so.

How else was he supposed to say so in a way that would get attention, which is rather basic to contributing to an ideological moment? Was he supposed to tweet? Say some stuff in locker-room interviews? No. The writer pens editorials. The artist crafts portraits, music or plays. The community activist marches. The athlete might wear a certain kind of shirt—or sit out the national anthem. To tar him as a traitor to the nation is as flimsy as calling a white person a racist for wearing dreadlocks.

We must understand what Kaepernick is protesting. The tension between black people and the cops is not just one more race issue roiling the nation: it is the key one. It is the central cause of black people's sense of general alienation, the first thing that comes up when you ask black people why they think racism defines their lives. It was what the Panthers were all about, what gangsta rap was all about, what the O.J. Simpson vigilante-justice verdict was all about, and it's no accident that today's most prominent civil rights effort, Black Lives Matter, began as a protest against the cops. The sense of the cops' authority as illegitimate only makes it easier for underserved black men to seek employment on the black market of drug sales. The cop issue helps destroy black communities.

Nor is any of this new. In James Baldwin's writings from the 1940s on, for example, cops loom as ominously as in any journalistic report from last year. And this is why we must resist the notion that black people need to get over it just because the cops kill as many white as black people (relative to their population, black people are still more likely to be shot). In our times, the idea that cops simply kill out of conscious racism doesn't really stand up—it's a much more complex problem. But in black communities, communal memory of openly racist cops in the not-so-distant past is still a raw wound.

As such, frankly, whether we like it or not, the idea of cops as racist—held by many whites as well as blacks—is not going to change. Black history makes it almost impossible not to sense or suspect racism in grisly episodes like what just happened to Terence Crutcher in Tulsa, Okla. However, all is not lost. If we can make it rare to nonexistent that the cops kill any unarmed people, it will save white lives and black ones alike. And what will seem important in the historical sense is not settling scores as to whether and how much things were or are due to racism and in which ways, but that black people do not sense the cops as an enemy. America will never make any serious progress on the race question until this happens.

This, then, is what Colin Kaepernick is addressing in refusing to stand for the national anthem. He is making a statement about civil rights and moral progress, and he is breaking no law. He is neither saying that he'd rather live in Afghanistan nor that the U.S. is a worthless experiment. He is thinking, and his critics might follow his lead.

McWhorter is an associate professor of English and comparative literature at Columbia University

'The freedoms that Mr. Kaepernick has been able to enjoy were provided by veterans who made tremendous sacrifices. Instead of focusing on all that is negative about our country, he should remember what's great about America and be an example to young people who may aspire to the same success that he has had.'

—DALE BARNETT, FORMER AMERICAN LEGION NATIONAL COMMANDER

At a Falcons-Raiders game in Oakland, Calif., on Sept. 18, a fan expresses her opinion in the stands

Why I knelt in solidarity

BY JELANI JENKINS

AT A VERY YOUNG AGE, I WAS TAUGHT THAT GOD HAD a special plan for me and my life. My parents raised me to be confident in my own skin and to love each and every person unconditionally. They also taught me the importance of reading, studying and learning from the elders and ancestors who preceded me.

What I want is simple: equal rights and equal opportunities for every single person living in this country. The dream Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. had. The same dream my great-grandfather Esau Jenkins had as he fought for equal rights in Charleston, S.C. To stand idly by and witness men and children who look like me being senselessly shot and killed is not an option. No more hashtags. Enough is enough. Racial, social and economic inequality is very real in this country, and it is time for real change with real results. In order to help stimulate meaningful change, sometimes it takes a controversial—but meaningful—stand. After standing with my teammates as we honored those who were victims of the 9/11 attacks with a moment of silence, I knelt during the singing of the national anthem. I have the utmost love and respect for those who risk their lives and died serving this country. I come from a spirit of love, and I aim to unite—not divide. This is not about football, the flag, the military or Jelani Jenkins.

I do not expect change to happen overnight. It will take consistent work and cooperation from people all over the world who, like me, love humanity. My grandfather Esau's motto was "Love is progress, hate is expensive." It is with the full support of friends, family and community that I continue to fight for what is right.

Jenkins is a linebacker for the Miami Dolphins

There's no such thing as a selective patriot

BY EDDIE S. GLAUDE JR.

Tulsa, Okla., police killed Terence Crutcher in cold blood. The video is hard to watch. You see a black man with his hands up, walking toward his stalled vehicle and posing little threat to the officer, who has her weapon drawn. He was unarmed. Within 30 seconds of the arrival of police backup, Crutcher was tased and shot. The aerial footage showed his body falling helplessly to the ground. Blood poured into the street under him. And the police offered little assistance to save the man one officer described as "a bad dude."

On Sept. 14, just two days earlier, Tyre King was killed by police officers in Columbus, Ohio. He was only 13 years old. Officers responded to a report of teenagers engaged in an armed robbery of $10. When they arrived on the scene, the police confronted three black males who matched the description. King, the police reported, ran, then reached for what turned out to be a BB gun in his waistband and was shot "multiple times."

His parents hired an independent forensic pathologist. "Based on the location and the direction of the wound paths it is more likely than not Tyre King was in the process of running away from the shooter or shooters when he suffered all three gunshot wounds," Dr. Francisco Diaz, the medical examiner in Wayne County, Michigan, reported. King was only 5 ft. tall and weighed less than 100 lb.—visibly a child.

Colin Kaepernick of the San Francisco 49ers has refused to stand for the national anthem in protest of monstrous acts like these. He and other athletes who have followed his lead have been viciously criticized. Accused of being unpatriotic and of betraying the sacrifice of our men and women in uniform. These are the same people who recently booed President Obama's 9/11 tribute video in football stadiums across the country; the same people who would describe Cliven Bundy, the Nevada cattle rancher who launched an armed standoff with law enforcement, as a patriot; the same people who defend the Confederate flag. They are selective patriots. We should not take them seriously.

Instead, we must continue to fight for our dead. Protect our children. And defend an idea of democracy where lives of the likes of Terence Crutcher and Tyre King are valued as much as those of any white person in this country. Until then, continue to take a knee, Colin Kaepernick. And the selective patriots can go to hell.

Glaude chairs the department of African American studies at Princeton University

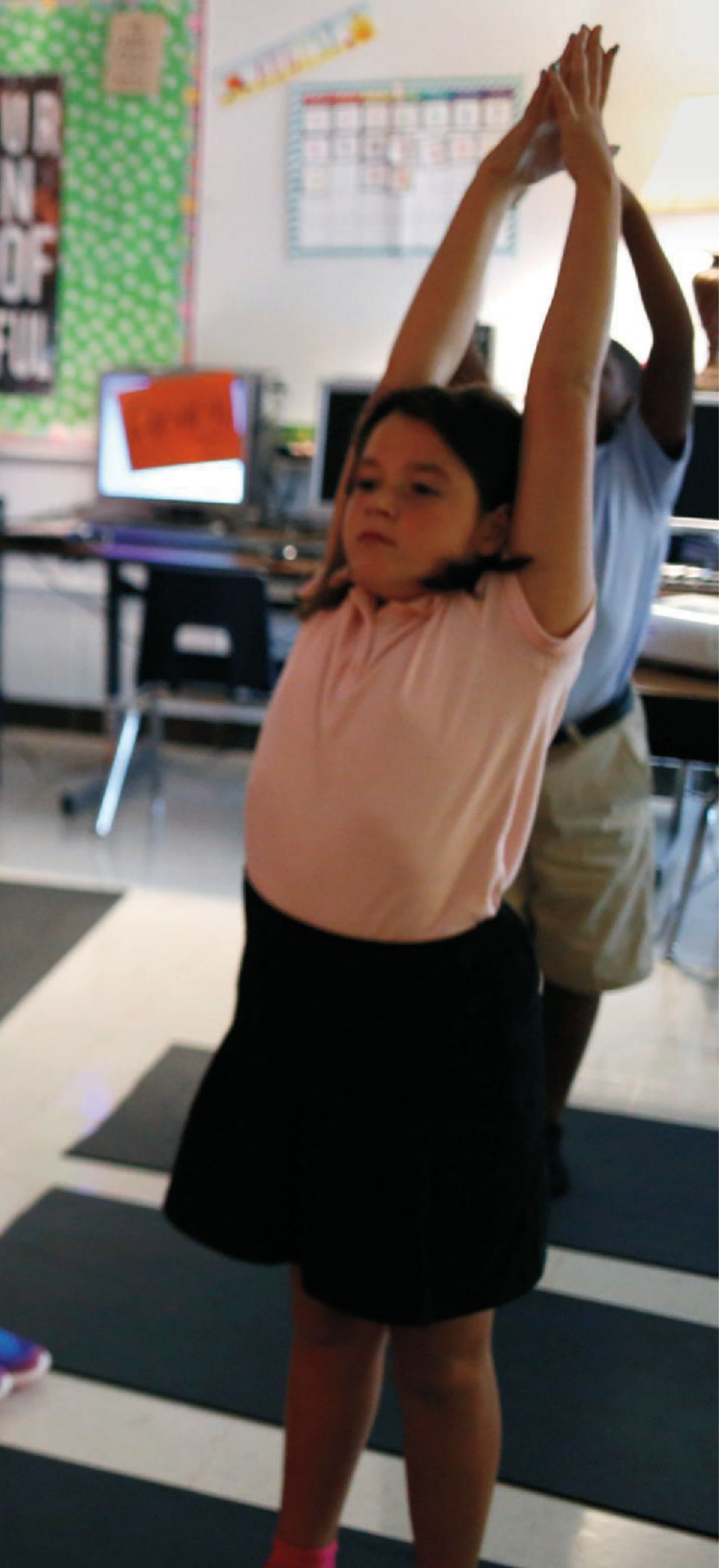
'The bottom line is: You have the right, because it's that kind of country. But on the other hand, as one [team] owner said, "What's your plan?"'

—JIM BROWN, RECORD-SETTING FORMER NFL RUNNING BACK

OPPOSITE PAGE: JUSTIN SULLIVAN—GETTY IMAGES; THIS PAGE: JASON O. WATSON—GETTY IMAGES

Fifth-graders flow through yoga-inspired poses in a mindfulness class at a public school in Louisville, Ky.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUKE SHARRETT FOR TIME



The Mindful Classroom

Some experts think mindfulness is the antidote to distraction, misbehaving—even poor math scores. Are they on to something?

By Mandy Oaklander

CHRISTINA JOHNSON'S CLASSROOM MUST be the most peaceful place at Cane Run Elementary School in Louisville, Ky. Instead of desks, six rows of black yoga mats line the floor. All the lights are off except for one gently glowing lamp. Underwater sounds gurgle from a pair of speakers.

Today nearly two dozen fifth-graders are sitting on the mats with their shoes off and eyes closed, following Johnson as she guides them through a relaxation exercise. "Take a nice, nice deep breath in, and keep your hands on your anchors, please," Johnson says. The kids place one hand on their chest, the other on their belly. Johnson taps a chime and the kids know what to do: listen intently, and when the long reverberation stops, their hands shoot up. "Good job," Johnson says. "We're ready."

For the next 45 minutes, Johnson leads the class through exercises that are designed to increase mindfulness—a catchall term for practices that help you focus on the present moment. They learn how to savor the taste of a mint until it dissolves on their tongue; they move their little bodies into poses lifted straight from a yoga studio.

Cane Run, which requires that students attend the class twice weekly from kinder-

Mindfulness classes focus on skills not typically taught in school, like self-reflection and emotion management

garten on up, is at the frontier of a growing movement. Mindfulness has come to the classroom. At Cane Run, it's still an experiment: researchers want to know if a program like this can improve students' focus, behavior, academic performance—even their empathy. A seven-year study, called the Compassionate Schools Project, is under way in 26 Louisville schools. If all goes as well as researchers expect—and if officials can secure the funding—mandatory mindfulness classes will wind up at every public school in the city.

THAT MINDFULNESS is taking its place alongside math in elementary school says something about the stressed-out state of kids' brains these days. Educators increasingly believe that mindfulness can be an antidote to three of the biggest mental-health challenges that kids face: anxiety, trouble paying attention and bullying.

It makes sense. In adults, the benefits of activities such as yoga, meditation and deep-breathing exercises are well established. A robust body of research shows that these exercises lower stress, ease anxiety, improve sleep, ward off sickness, reduce depression and even blunt pain. If mindfulness can work even some of the same wonders in children, the implications would be huge. Up to 20% of kids in the U.S. have anxiety—and anxiety is the No. 1 predictor of depression in adolescence. Diagnoses for attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) in kids show no signs of slowing, creeping up from 7% in 2003 to 11% in 2011.

Classes in mindfulness, its advocates hope, can make a dent in those worrying numbers, while also teaching kids softer skills, like how to communicate feelings, how to get along with classmates and how to modulate reactions—all skills that researchers believe the practice helps develop. If kids start early, the skills may prove useful down the road at countering the stresses and distractions of adult life. "These are not niceties. These are critical capabilities," says Patrick Tolan, a professor at the University of Virginia Curry School of Education who is leading the analysis. "If children today don't learn how to take care of themselves, it's going to have enormous impact on our health care costs and on the health of our nation."

Although research on mindfulness in children is still preliminary, studies show that it can help kids who have anxiety and trouble paying attention with their schoolwork, behavior and stress regulation. First- through third-graders who were taught mindfulness and breathing techniques had fewer ADHD symptoms and less test anxiety, one study found. Even for kids without these issues, mindfulness has been shown to increase kindness, sleep quality and even math scores.

4 YEARS

The age when kids can begin doing short yoga and mindfulness sessions, according to researchers

This training appears to work in kids as young as 4. Preschoolers who received 12 weeks of a kindness and mindfulness class earned better grades and were more likely to share than counterparts in a control group, according to research by Lisa Flook, a scientist at the University of Wisconsin who is studying a mindfulness program in several schools in Madison. "A body of work shows there are these innate prosocial and altruistic qualities present from a very early age in children," Flook says. "This is a way of nurturing the seeds of kindness in children."

In another ongoing study, researchers from the University of North Carolina Wilmington teach preschoolers yoga poses and relaxation exercises. After just two weeks, these kids exhibit better attention, awareness, gratitude and happiness compared with kids who did not have the classes. "What's amazing is that this brief exposure appears to be so powerful," says lead researcher Simone Nguyen, a developmental-psychology professor at the university. "A few minutes of breathing, a few minutes of paying attention to the moment are appearing to make a difference."

A movement is also under way to train teachers in mindfulness. "Our theory is that if we actually produce educators that are more aware and empathic and attuned to children, that in its own right is going to have an effect on kids' nervous systems," says Chris McKenna, program director of Mindful Schools, a group in Emeryville,

Over the next two years, the Compassionate Schools Project aims to study kids in 50 Louisville public schools

Calif., that trains teachers in mindfulness.

"There's an almost immediate calming effect of mindfulness practice," says Randye Semple, an anxiety-disorder expert and assistant professor at the University of Southern California's Keck School of Medicine. Calm breathing triggers the parasympathetic nervous system—the opposite of the fight-or-flight response—which slows heart rate and makes blood pressure go down, she says. Mindfulness training also encourages kids to focus attention on whatever is happening in the moment. "Essentially, mindfulness is attention training," she says. "We're showing them that attention can be increased, that it can be ramped up and it can be trained."

Another study this summer found that students had higher levels of the stress hormone cortisol if their teachers reported being burned out. But if stress is contagious, so is its opposite. In a study of hundreds of teachers across 36 public elementary schools in New York City, half of the teachers received mindfulness and stress-reduction training while the other half did not. Those who were trained in mindfulness became better at handling their own stress—and as it turns out, the benefits appeared to spread to the kids too. According to Tish Jennings, associate professor of education at the Curry School of Education at the University of Virginia, the teachers who got the training were more sensitive to their students' needs and better at fostering a productive environment for learning.

15%

The percentage by which fourth- and fifth-graders in a mindfulness program scored higher than their peers on math tests

Encouraged by results such as these, a growing group of researchers, advocates and parents are pushing for mindfulness to be taught in all public schools. In some places, like Louisville, it could replace an enrichment or health course, while other districts will pick and choose parts of the practice to incorporate into existing classes. Other schools may try to create a more mindful culture by training teachers instead of adding a dedicated class. Private and charter schools across the country have been on to this for some time. "Self-regulation and attention can benefit kids on both ends and throughout the [socio-economic] spectrum," says Flook.

NOT EVERYONE thinks mindfulness belongs in schools. Classroom time is more prized than ever—and resources are scant. "If you can't get art and music in a curriculum, you're not going to be able to get this," says McKenna. Nor do all parents find the material acceptable. One school district in Ohio piloted a mindfulness program in 2011 and found the results so impressive that it soon expanded to other schools. But parents complained that they felt the practice was teaching religion—Buddhism—and had no place in the classroom. In 2013, the district, in Canton, shuttered the program.

It's a criticism researchers have heard before. "I don't think any of us deny that most of these general practices and concepts come from Buddhism," says Semple. "But we're not teaching Buddhism. We're teaching kids how to pay attention."

Jennings too is careful to identify her program as "100% secular." "We don't teach anything related to other parts of yoga that might be considered spiritual or religious." That's part of the reason researchers are studying it closely. If the results show what they expect—a nearly universal benefit for kids—researchers hope it will lead to even broader adoption nationwide.

In Louisville, Christina Johnson knows it's already working on her fifth-graders. She talks them through their final movements—raising both arms to the sky in a pose she calls "sunrise," then releasing "all that negative stuff" as they flop over their toes—and then tells them to close their eyes and check in with their feelings. Moments later, a boy's soft sniffle breaks the stillness. Johnson hugs and holds him as he whispers to her about problems at home. No one snickers. No one even opens their eyes.

"When the brain gets still and everything gets calm, the feelings come out," Johnson says later. "That's why this needs to be in schools." ◻

SHERYL **SANDBERG**
COO, FACEBOOK

PRISCILLA **CHAN**
CO-FOUNDER, CHAN ZUCKERBERG INITIATIVE

IVANKA **TRUMP**
EVP, THE TRUMP ORGANIZATION

ANITA **HILL**
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CHELSEA **HANDLER**
SERIES HOST, NETFLIX

RUTH **PORAT**
CFO, GOOGLE/ALPHABET

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Time Off

'FUQUA'S MAGNIFICENT SEVEN ARE MERELY SO-SO, A BUNCH OF DUDES WE SETTLE FOR WITH A SIGH.' —PAGE 52

ARCHITECTURE

A museum embraces the triumph and struggle of black America

By Richard Lacayo

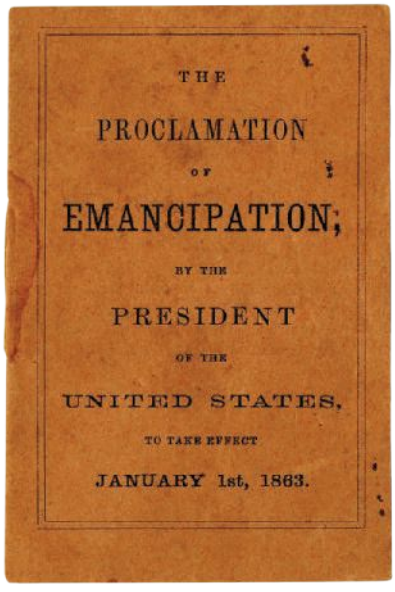
ANY HISTORY MUSEUM IS A storytelling machine. But the newest one in Washington, D.C., starts telling its story before you even enter. The very silhouette of the National Museum of African American History and Culture has embedded meanings. Above a glass-enclosed lobby, the building rises in three inverted trapezoids. That multitiered exterior is borrowed from a crown motif of the Yoruba, the West African people who established one of the most important civilizations in sub-Saharan Africa and who also made up a sizable part of the U.S. slave population. So in its outlines, the building remembers the continent that was the homeland of most American slaves. But it also refers to the American side of the African-American experience, because that saw-toothed frame is covered by a perforated lattice of bronze-coated aluminum meant to recall the ornamental ironwork produced by slaves and freedmen in New Orleans. It says that Africa may have been the place most black Americans came from, but

The museum's saw-toothed exterior, inspired by a Yoruban design motif, provides lively contrast to the nearby Washington Monument

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW MOORE FOR TIME

1830s *Nat Turner's Bible*

1860 *Iron shackles with child-size cuffs measuring 1¾ in. by 2¼ in.*



1862 *Emancipation Proclamation booklet printed for Union soldiers to give to African Americans*

1939 *Marian Anderson's dress from her Lincoln Memorial concert*

America was the place they built.

Lonnie Bunch III, the museum's founding director, was once head of the Chicago Historical Society, and before that an associate director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, so he's given a lot of thought to this storytelling business. He says he wants people to understand that his new institution is "a museum of American history, but one that uses African-American culture and history as a lens to understand it. When you walk into this museum you will absolutely see 'insider stories' about black life. But the goal is to bring those back to broader questions, a broader story about America."

That's an idea carried out by the building's design, which is chiefly the work of British architect David Adjaye, who was born in Tanzania to Ghanaian parents. (He teamed up for this project with several U.S. firms, including the Freelon Group, the SmithGroup and Davis Brody Bond.) Adjaye—whose other American works include Denver's Museum of Contemporary Art; Sugar Hill, a mixed-use affordable-housing development in Manhattan; and an ingenious neighborhood library in Washington—says symbolic gestures like the museum's exterior are deliberate. "The whole project that Lonnie was trying to do drove me to be much more explicit about creating a narrative construction, making signifiers that help the museum to explain itself," he says.

Another way he did that was by cutting large apertures in the lattice-work at crucial points. The five-acre parcel occupied by the museum was the last buildable site on the National Mall and one of the best located, directly across from the Washington Monument, with views overlooking the Lincoln Memorial, the National Archives Building and the White House. By opening sight lines to those resonant places, Adjaye ties the African-American saga into the wide-screen narratives of U.S. history. Yet at the same time his museum looks very different from most of official Washington. His metal exterior is distinctly modern, and on a Mall dominated by neo-Classical piles of pale marble and limestone, decidedly, deliberately dark. Adjaye is well known for his darker palette. One of his first residential projects in London was a black-walled cube called the Dirty House. His Sugar Hill building is graphite gray. "Lonnie and I agreed," he says, "that having a dark presence on the Mall would be a beautiful thing."

THAT PRESENCE was a century in the making. The idea originated in 1915 with black Civil War veterans who had gathered in Washington to mark the 50th anniversary of the war's end. They formed a committee to promote a monument on the Mall to the achievements of African Americans. By 1929 Herbert Hoover had even established a commission to devise a plan for a museum, but nothing came of it until Georgia Representative John Lewis, a leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee in the 1960s, arrived in Congress in 1987 and began introducing legislation every year to make the project a reality. Despite the dogged opposition of North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, by 2003 there was enough bipartisan support for a bill to gain passage and be signed by George W. Bush, a major supporter.

Two years later Bunch was hired as director. All he needed to do was create a museum from the ground up. Because Congress was going to provide only half of what ended up being the $540 million initial cost of the project, Bunch spent a lot of time raising funds from private donors, including some very famous ones. Michael Jordan gave $5 million. Oprah Winfrey's foundation provided $21 million, which is why the museum's theater is named for her.

To build a collection, Bunch launched a series of *Antiques Roadshow*–style events in cities across the

1946 *Louis Armstrong's trumpet*

1965 *James Baldwin's passport*

1973 *Chuck Berry's Cadillac Eldorado*

1973 *Muhammad Ali's sparring headgear*

1989 *Boom box used in* Do the Right Thing

U.S. People were encouraged to bring in African-American family heirlooms to be evaluated by museum experts and maybe to be donated. Through that kind of outreach the museum acquired nearly four-fifths of the roughly 34,000 items in its collection, including one of the most precious, a Bible once owned by the slave-revolt leader Nat Turner.

AN INSTITUTION that traces the narrative of African-American life for what may be as many as 4 million visitors a year has to satisfy no end of tricky agendas. It has to sift the past to rescue people from anonymity, as it does in a room that lists the names of almost all the 612 slaves Thomas Jefferson owned in his life. It has to represent not only the brutality and sheer perversity of slavery but also the resourcefulness of those who suffered it. It has to acknowledge the election of an African-American President but also the plain fact, in the era of Black Lives Matter, that America remains a work in progress.

But if it has to tell stories of pain and sacrifice, those cannot be the only ones. It can't forget about Chuck Berry's hilarious red Cadillac or Muhammad Ali's headgear or the outfit Marian Anderson wore to sing in triumph from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial after being barred from performing elsewhere because she was black. It can very well contain a concrete guard tower from the notorious Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola, but also something much more literally uplifting, a plane used to train some of World War II's Tuskegee Airmen, the first black American military pilots. It has to both pass through hell and point to the wild blue yonder.

In designing the museum, British architect Adjaye turned to his own African roots

Bunch knows this. "One of my goals was to help the public embrace the ambiguity of the past," he says. "That's where the greatest learning is. We want you to come to this museum, and we expect you to work a little bit."

Almost two-thirds of the museum's 400,000 sq. ft. is below ground, where galleries lay out the complicated journey from slavery and the fight against it, through the daily humiliations and worse of the Jim Crow era to the escalating struggles for civil rights, until the story climaxes in the complicated present. In those galleries visitors will find things like an ominous pair of iron shackles, a bill of sale for a 16-year-old girl named Polly—price: $600—and, at the outer edges of the grotesque, an 1859 advertisement for a "Great Negro Mart" in Memphis, promising a "general assortment of Negroes at private sale and auction." They'll see a cramped slave cabin and an entire Southern Railway car, a 77-ton relic from the era of segregated travel and the legal fiction called "separate but equal."

Of the museum's five aboveground floors, one is devoted to African-American involvement in social pursuits and institutions like schools, churches, business, sports and the military. Another courses through high points of black cultural achievement in areas like music, literature, television and the visual arts. The museum can show only about 10% of its collection, so over time some displays will change. After all, African-American history—and American history—will keep on happening. The long effort to create this museum may be a tale that's completed, but the story it was built to tell has much more to come. ◻

IMAGES COURTESY OF THE COLLECTION OF THE SMITHSONIAN NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE (9); ADJAYE: AP

Denzel and friends try to bring the western into the modern age

MOVIES

Once cool *Magnificent Seven* now a middling septet

By Stephanie Zacharek

THERE ARE AT LEAST SEVEN REASONS TO REMAKE *The Magnificent Seven,* John Sturges' larkish 1960 western, itself a retooling of Akira Kurosawa's rousingly elegant 1954 epic *Seven Samurai:* at any given time, there are always at least seven young-to-middle-aged male actors ready to strap on holsters and peer out from beneath rakishly tilted cowboy hats. Because really, what could be cooler?

But Antoine Fuqua's new *Magnificent Seven*—in which Denzel Washington's bounty hunter Sam Chisolm leads a septet of mercenaries after a greedy mining magnate bent on destroying a town—is cool only in the most strained, trying-too-hard way. Which means it isn't cool at all. And if the best westerns have always been, in some way, studies of contemporary manhood, it's worrisome to think about what this *Magnificent Seven* says about men today.

Whatever's wrong with the picture isn't necessarily the fault of the cast, which includes Ethan Hawke as a haunted former Confederate soldier, Chris Pratt as a waggish gunslinger and, best of all, Vincent D'Onofrio as a grizzled iconoclast who's a cross between Santa and *Chimes at Midnight*–era Orson Welles. Byung-hun Lee, Manuel Garcia-Rulfo and Martin Sensmeier round out the group as, respectively, an Asian guy who throws a mean knife, a Mexican bandit on the run and a Comanche who doesn't need a gun (or hat) to prove himself as a fighter. Even if none of them emerge distinctly, Fuqua is at least reaching toward the idea that the very people America has typically shut out often embody its finest values. (And it's never mentioned that the seven's leader is a man of color. Because why should it be?)

PREVIOUS MAGNIFICENCE
In the original *Magnificent Seven* (1960), Yul Brynner, below, led an ace cast including Steve McQueen and Charles Bronson

As Chisolm, Washington grinds away at the movie's spirit with his dull nobility. He's often a marvelous actor, in performances ranging from teasingly sly to stonily grave, but here, he's so unreproachfully earnest that the movie sags around him. It doesn't help that the story line gives Chisolm clear motivation for wanting to go after the villain, played by a lizard-like Peter Sarsgaard. Washington's character is a world apart from Yul Brynner's in the original, who takes the gig for no reason other than the challenge, only to dig into it wholeheartedly on principle, a kind of heroism whose very casualness gives it meaning.

THE HEROISM of this *Magnificent Seven* is actually more conservative than that of most 1950s or early '60s westerns: even when dead bodies start piling up, we don't really see how much the blind bravery of these men costs them—it's simply what's expected of them. The picture is action-packed but mindlessly so, and it's neither light enough to work as a coltish entertainment nor smart enough to cut beyond anything but the most rote notions of masculinity. The final showdown is elaborate and raggedly violent, without being rousing. We know something's at stake because we've been told so repeatedly—only it's all too easy to forget what that something is. Retooling the western for the modern age, Fuqua has drained away everything that made classic westerns classic in the first place. His magnificent seven are merely so-so, a bunch of dudes we settle for with a sigh, as if it were our fault for expecting more. ◻

TELEVISION

Infinite jests from *The Good Place*

ELEANOR SHELLSTROP IS a bad person. She's bad in the ways most of us are bad: she litters, she's impulsive, she blows off commitments. So how'd she get to heaven?

That's the question that animates *The Good Place,* NBC's bid to begin rebuilding its Thursday-night comedy legacy. Creator Michael Schur *(Parks and Recreation)* drops the late Eleanor (Kristen Bell) in "the good place"—an afterlife reserved for humanity's very best. (Yes, there's a "bad place" too.) Eleanor plays along as Michael (Ted Danson), the seraphic architect of her "neighborhood," explains the rules of an afterlife that every religion in the world got a little bit right. He tells her that, as far as he knows, she was a death-row defense attorney in life and her humble, ascetic nature means she'll be satisfied with a small cottage and an ethics-professor soul mate (William Jackson Harper) for all eternity. While she'd be happy to play along, her inability to even pretend to be as nice as her insufferable fellow angels means she requires some quick lessons in ethics—and, now that her human life has ended, in humanity.

This may be the most erudite network sitcom since *Frasier;* Chidi, the professor stuck protecting Eleanor's secret, has her read Kant, Heidegger and Hume. While the show is far from perfect, its imagination papers over a great many sins.

Those weaknesses include

Bell plays a typically "bad" person struggling among the good

Eleanor, who in the early going is less a character than a stick figure acted upon by the weirdness of the universe. The struggle to be good is less pronounced if the person struggling is as sunny as Bell, and I'm not convinced that she can be as bad as the script demands.

MORE CONCERNING for those wondering how to spend their own limited time on earth is the question of the show's future. The first several episodes spin their wheels, hard, to keep Eleanor from being found out, and to keep a heavenly sphere where anything is possible from growing stale. (Confronting the question of this afterlife's maker—Michael's boss, whomever He or She is, would have been potentially alienating, and far more ambitious.) Great, long-running sitcoms tend to bloom in straightforward settings: the family home, the office, a bar if you're feeling adventurous. An imagined Valhalla is likely to be more vibrant than the characters who inhabit it.

> 'Only the people with the very highest scores, the true cream of the crop, get to come here—the good place.'
>
> **TED DANSON**, as Michael

But the universe we see is imaginatively drawn enough to make me hope the writers have a workable plan to tease out Eleanor's bad side. The characters who got into the good place did so because, on a divine numerical scale, the trees they planted outweighed the traffic lights they blew through. It's a canny, engaging idea, and fitting: *The Good Place*'s weaknesses are no match for its thoughtful, sharp laughs.

—DANIEL D'ADDARIO

THE GOOD PLACE *airs Thursdays at 8:30 p.m. E.T. on NBC*

THE MAGNIFICENT SEVEN: SONY; BRYNNER: EVERETT; THE GOOD PLACE: NBC

TIME PICKS

TELEVISION
The documentary ***Amanda Knox,*** which hits Netflix on Sept. 30, revisits the 2007 murder of student Meredith Kercher, featuring interviews with her roommate Knox, who was charged with and later acquitted of the crime.

MUSIC
On *22, A Million* (Sept. 30), indie-folk group **Bon Iver** departs from the quiet sadness of previous albums with an eclectic blend of Auto-Tune, saxophone solos and sampled riffs from the likes of Mahalia Jackson.

BOOKS
Bruce Springsteen's long-gestating autobiography ***Born to Run*** (Sept. 27) traces his path from the bars of Asbury Park, N.J., to stages as big as the Super Bowl. It coincides with a companion album that includes unreleased tracks from his high school band.

MOVIES
The uplifting ***Queen of Katwe*** (Sept. 23) tells the true story of a teenage girl from Uganda, Phiona Mutesi (played by newcomer Madina Nalwanga), who, with the help of her coach (David Oyelowo) and mother (Lupita Nyong'o), becomes a decorated chess prodigy.

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FICTION

Of maladies and miracles

IN HER NEW NOVEL *THE Wonder,* Emma Donoghue *(Room)* again tells the story of a woman struggling to protect a vulnerable child. Anna O'Donnell is a Catholic girl in 1850s Ireland who has not eaten since her 11th birthday, four months before the story begins. She says she lives on "manna from heaven" and drinks only water. And she seems to be mostly fine. Believers say it's a miracle; doubters say it's a hoax.

The novel's protagonist, Lib Wright, is an English nurse who's been brought in to monitor Anna for two weeks and testify as to whether she's truly subsisting without food. Lib is a woman of science and rather intolerant of Catholics—she clashes like plaid on polka dots with Anna's sanctimonious mother. But she does care deeply about Anna. The girl's health is not perfect when Lib arrives, but after the first week Lib wonders if her presence has turned a sham into the real thing, forcing Anna to truly go without food while under 24-hour surveillance—and potentially pushing her toward the grave.

Donoghue is a master of plot, and her prose is especially exquisite in depicting ambiguity. "Wasn't bogland known to harbour disease?" Lib muses when she arrives in the green countryside, admired by so many as a starkly beautiful landscape. "Clearly the Irish Midlands were a depression where wet pooled, the little circle in a saucer."

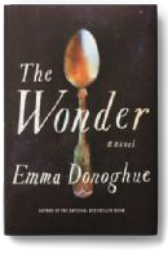
Anna, who believes her brother who died months earlier is in purgatory and spends hours reciting prayers to get him out, seems like a relic of the Middle Ages. But Lib is a heroine the modern woman can admire. She may not be a believer, but she is a crusader, and her rebellious compassion shapes the novel.

This force of optimism in the face of ignorance and apathy leads to a very tidy dénouement. "With man this is impossible," says Jesus of the miracle of redemption in Matthew 19, "but with God all things are possible." In *The Wonder,* Gospel-like in its concern with adversity and hope, miracles are possible—perhaps through God, perhaps through woman.

—SARAH BEGLEY

Donoghue earned an Oscar nomination for the screenplay of her novel Room

The Wonder *is Donoghue's 14th book; she shifts between historical and contemporary settings*



SPIRITUALITY

Two religious pillars meet

HOW DO WE FIND JOY IN A world filled with suffering? That timeless question drives *The Book of Joy,* a weeklong conversation between the Dalai Lama and Archbishop Desmond Tutu woven into a narrative by Douglas Abrams. As the two men reflect on their personal experiences, they impart advice for finding inner joy. The secret? Not thinking too much about yourself.

Over the week in Dharamsala, India, they go deep on feelings and philosophy, to the point that Abrams suggests speeding things up. The Dalai Lama remarks that they have time aplenty, and the Archbishop jokes, "*You* must shorten your answers. *I* am brief." Together, they celebrate the Lama's 80th birthday at the Tibetan Children's Village with cake and trick candles. And they outline eight pillars of joy, divided by mind (perspective, humility, humor, acceptance) and heart (forgiveness, gratitude, compassion, generosity). The question may be timeless, but their answer has urgent significance.

—KIRSTEN SALYER

Desmond Tutu, left, and the Dalai Lama spent a week in India

DONOGHUE: HENNY GARFUNKEL—REDUX; DESMOND TUTU AND DALAI LAMA: AP

GUIDE

With a little help, you too can write a young-adult novel

THE BOOKS WE READ WHEN WE'RE young have a special sort of power: they can inspire us to be brave and resilient (*Matilda* by Roald Dahl), take us on thrilling adventures (*Divergent* by Veronica Roth) and even introduce us to tragedy (*The Bridge to Terabithia* by Katherine Paterson). They're as formative as anything else in our young lives, and sometimes they're the first place we encounter larger-than-life ideas. Consider the lasting cultural import of *To Kill a Mockingbird* or even the urgency of a newer best seller like *I'll Give You the Sun,* Jandy Nelson's 2014 novel centering on a gay protagonist. In *The Magic Words,* Cheryl B. Klein, an executive editor at Scholastic whose projects include the last two *Harry Potter* books, sets out to inform would-be writers on how great novels for young readers work.

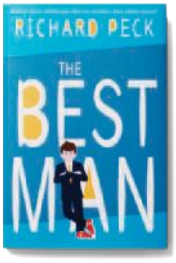
The market for YA novels is booming: sales in the children's and YA sector have been neck and neck with those of adult books in recent years, and adult authors, including Meg Wolitzer (*Belzhar*) and Carl Hiaasen (*Razor Girl*), are getting in on the phenomenon. *Magic Words* aims to be a master class. If you think it sounds silly, it isn't. In the era of elevated self-help sensations like Marie Kondo and Brené Brown, *The Magic Words* is of a piece.

Klein deconstructs the seemingly obvious (clear plotlines, sympathetic characters) to reveal the technical intricacies of some beloved classics. L.M. Montgomery surely didn't whip up *Anne of Green Gables* as a cash-in endeavor. But for those who want to capitalize, Anne is instructive: what's timeless and broadly appealing about Anne—her teenage heart and impulses—is what to examine. Once you understand that, Klein encourages you to get personal: What makes you ideal to write your story? And what does it mean to the reader?

On the latter question, *The Magic Words* is more than a handbook. It is also a timely social commentary on the responsibility YA writers have to young adults. Those who write to a younger demographic must start with an awareness of their readers—not only their age but also how they might connect with the issues, both the mundane (bullies) and the cultural (tolerance) that characters face. The narratives we tell young readers can influence how they understand and value the world around them. The magic isn't in the words; it's in how the words come together to reflect and affirm the realities of a diverse young-adult experience. —KIRSTEN SALYER

HOW BELOVED CLASSICS DRAW READERS IN*

** According to Cheryl B. Klein*



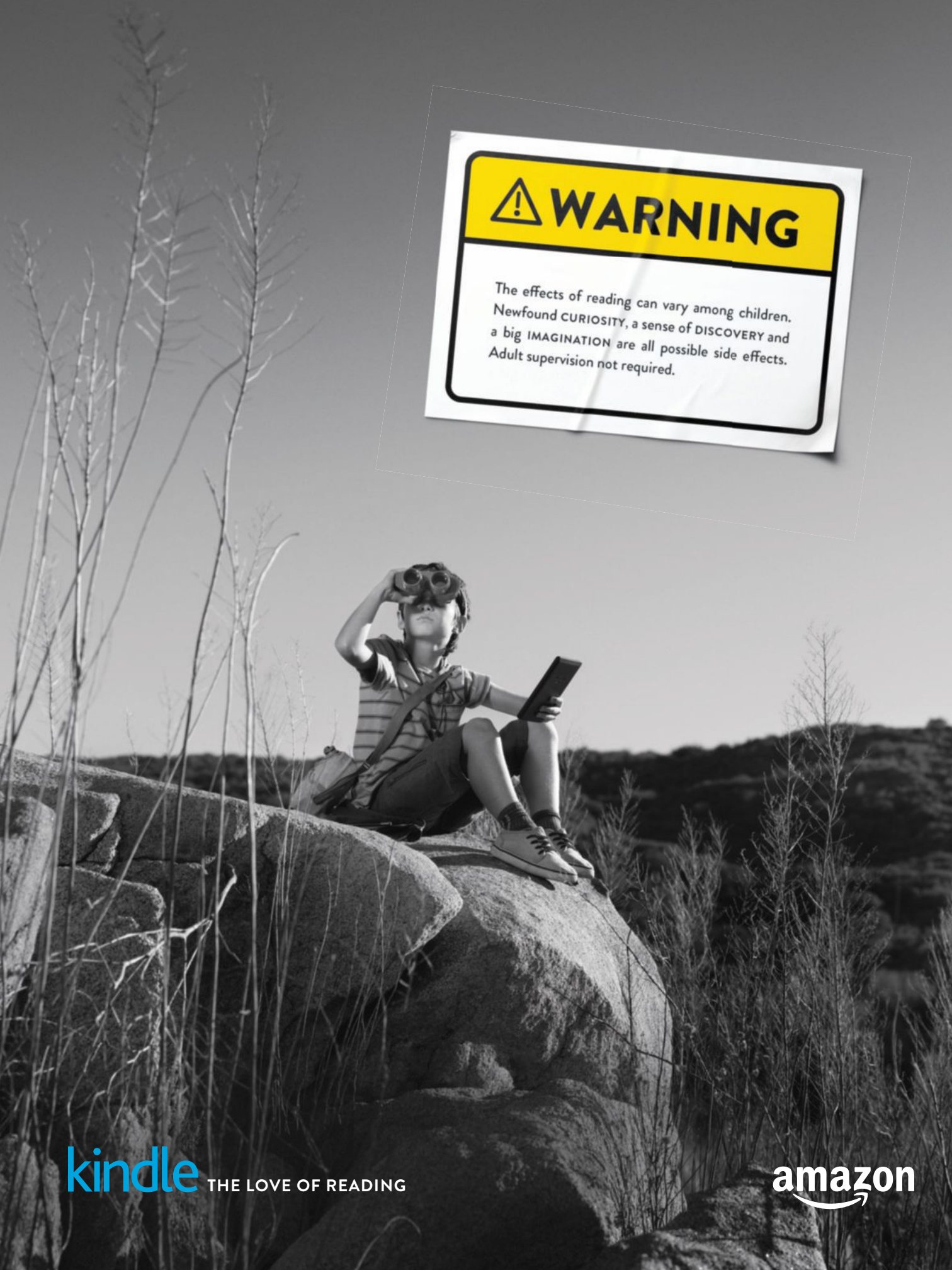
FICTION

The wedding party

RICHARD PECK'S NEW novel, *The Best Man,* is bookended by weddings. In the first, Archer is 6, a ring bearer and clueless about love. By the second, he's 12, a best man and a lot more enlightened: the uncle he idolizes is marrying a teacher he idolizes. The newlyweds are men.

Peck, who won the 2001 Newbery Medal for *A Year Down Yonder,* masterfully frames issues of sexuality for young readers, translating the message that "love is love" for a demographic still navigating first crushes. The novel paces through questions kids tend to ask when they become aware of gay relationships: "When did you decide to be gay?" Archer asks his uncle. His sister wonders who's the groom and who's the bride. On both counts, they learn, it doesn't work like that.

The tone is lighthearted, but the message of acceptance is unequivocal. When three kids gang up on another and write GAY on his forehead, Archer's teacher explains what a slur is and what labels mean. "Stay away from people who don't know who they are but want you to be just like them," he tells the class. "People who'll want to label you. People who'll try to write their fears on your face." —SARAH BEGLEY


WARNING
The effects of reading can vary among children. Newfound CURIOSITY, a sense of DISCOVERY and a big IMAGINATION are all possible side effects. Adult supervision not required.
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An Australian woman paid $500 to get **lifesaving surgery for her goldfish** after it swallowed a pebble.

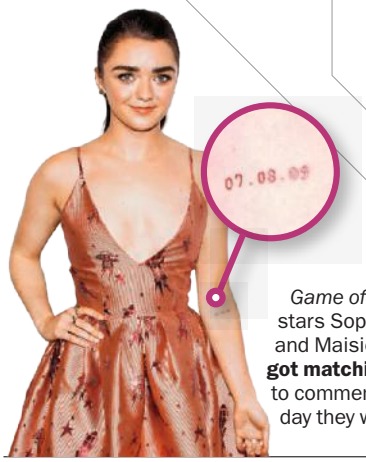
Nelly fans started an Internet campaign to **help the "Hot in Herre" rapper pay a reportedly sizable IRS debt** by streaming his songs on Spotify (and thereby upping his royalties).

A Colorado teen was named homecoming queen while **wearing a *T. rex* costume and a tutu.**

Google delivered **a puntastic response** to reports that its Street View map had blurred the face of a cow:

'We thought you were pulling the udder one when we herd the moos, but it's clear that our automatic face-blurring technology has been a little overzealous.'

Chance the Rapper is partnering with the NAACP **to help register fans to vote** during his Magnificent Coloring world tour.



Game of Thrones stars Sophie Turner and Maisie Williams **got matching tattoos** to commemorate the day they were cast.

Bill Murray **took over a bartending shift** at his son's new bar in Brooklyn, 21 Greenpoint.

LOVE IT / LEAVE IT

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

A fan **attempted to climb onto a stage** suspended over the crowd at a Kanye West concert in Atlanta, forcing West to pause his performance.

A golden retriever ingested heroin that a suspected drug dealer had **thrown over the fence of a Denver doggy-day-care park;** the dog has recovered.

Supertyphoon Meranti blew a giant inflatable moon (part of a local festival) onto a roadway in China's Fujian province, **causing a massive distraction.**

Designer Marc Jacobs dismissed allegations that his runway show was racially insensitive—it featured **white models in fake dreadlocks**—by saying that he doesn't "see color."

Jonah Hill reportedly canceled his press tour in France after a panelist on a local TV show **made a series of overly harsh jokes** about his appearance and film roles.

By Raisa Bruner, Cady Lang and Megan McCluskey

GOLDFISH: FACEBOOK; SPOTIFY; COW: GOOGLE; DOG: DENVER7; MOON: CHINA XINHUA NEWS; WILLIAMS, NELLY, CHANCE, MARC JACOBS: GETTY IMAGES; T. REX, WEST: TWITTER; MURRAY, HILL: YOUTUBE

The medical records you've been waiting for are right here in this column

By Joel Stein

I UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO COMMIT TO reading a one-page column without knowing how long I'll be around to write it. If I've got a heart condition or cancer, you might want to read a columnist you like a lot less, even if he makes up facts and has no experience writing columns and I had officially appointed a qualified backup columnist. The person I've chosen as my vice columnist is Virginia Senator Tim Kaine, who has amazing dad stories he hilariously peppers with eighth-grade-level Spanish.

So I am releasing my medical records. This was a challenging decision, since I had no idea how to get my medical records or what medical records are. I read over Hillary Clinton's and Donald Trump's medical records, and they aren't records at all. They're letters from their physicians with a bunch of boring numbers that made me glad I didn't go to medical school. I called my doctor, whose secretary invited me to come look at my records, which she explained any patient has the right to do.

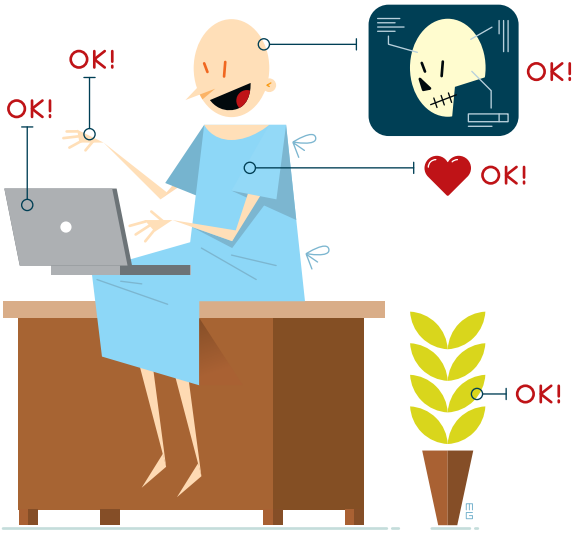
So I also scheduled a physical, since my readers deserve up-to-the-decade information. After I finished my tests, I went into my doctor's office, where he told me that Trump's doctor's report was ridiculous, since it claimed that his lab results were "astonishingly excellent" and that he would be "the healthiest individual ever elected to the presidency."

"Doctors aren't hyperbolists," he told me. "We use litotes." I had never heard the word *litotes,* which means "words doctors use to remind you they're smarter than you are." Despite his reluctance, I told him I needed a bold declaration to reassure my readers. "You're the healthiest columnist I've seen this morning," he offered.

SITTING ACROSS FROM ME at his desk, he held my folder in a way that prevented me from seeing it. He explained that it should never be released to the media. "It's a sacred document between you and me," he said. Though it seemed to be a sacred document between him and him.

I managed to get him to show me a few things from my folder. I am 5 ft. 11 in. and weigh 170 lb., which he called "perfect." My cholesterol is "fine," and my blood pressure is 96/60, which is low. This worried me until he told me it was good to be low at this. On June 14, 2013, I had surgery for a deviated septum, which is Los Angeles for "nose job," which sucks since I didn't get a nose job. He showed me my post-surgery X-rays. "Look at your sinuses. They look gorgeous," he said, sounding a little like a Trump doctor.

In 2010, I came in with a rash that turned out to be



chiggers I had contracted while doing boot-camp exercises in Fort Knox. If it's not apparent, I would like to imply that this is not the kind of gutsy reporting you're likely to get from the healthier columnist you're considering. A blood test showed that I had parvovirus as a child, which sounds much less serious when it is called any of its other names: slapped-cheek syndrome, slapcheek, slap face or slapped face. I spent 15 minutes looking at smiling babies with red cheeks that looked exactly like they had told some other baby she had a nice rack.

Before I got hair transplants on June 25, 2014, I considered taking Propecia, leading my doctor to test my testosterone, which was 268. Trump revealed that his is 441.6—apparently the first time a presidential candidate had included that fact in his medical records. My doctor said my low testosterone isn't a problem because my "sex-hormone-binding globulin" is not only high but likely a made-up thing to keep me from asking more questions.

It has never manifested, but blood work claims that I have mouth herpes, though my doctor kept saying there is only one kind of herpes, even though we all know there is "mouth herpes" and "other herpes" and I could not have contracted "other herpes." He was so insistent on this one-herpes argument, and it went on so long, that I started to suspect that my doctor has "other herpes."

THOUGH I WANT YOU to draw your own conclusions from this data, that's not how these doctors'-letters-posing-as-medical-records work. Instead they sum everything up cheerily. So: I am in excellent health, unlikely to die before print media does. Sure, I'm a little unmanly and a lot vain, but I am physically capable of holding a desk job. You're in safe, completely non-arthritic hands. ▯

ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

Jennifer Weiner The best-selling novelist talks about her family, her difficult childhood and her recent Oprah's Book Club controversy

Why did you call your memoir *Hungry Heart?* It was called *The F Word* for a while, for *fat* or *feminism* or *f-ck*. It was called *Never Breast-Feed in a Sweaterdress and Other Lessons I Learned the Hard Way.* But *Hungry Heart* is perfect because these are stories about yearning and appetite and love and family. And because being hungry means you don't always get your appetite satisfied quite the way you'd hoped.

Bruce Springsteen doesn't have the copyright on that? Well, hilariously, he has his own memoir out, but he went with *Born to Run.* And I did not.

Do you think you got picked on a lot at school more because of your body, your brains or your brass? Or my boobs! I'd say it was my brain. I just didn't know how to talk to other people my age, and it took me a while to learn that. It basically took me 'til adulthood, when everybody else caught up.

Your father left the family in your last year of high school. How did that affect you? It made me a writer. When something like that happens, or at least when it happened to me, I wanted to be the one who was telling the story instead of the one it was happening to.

Did you ever reconcile with him? No. My dad died in 2008. And I didn't know it, but he'd been addicted to heroin and crack. The last time I interacted with him, he was very hostile and scary and not the father I remembered at all.

Your mother doesn't mind that you make fun of her coming out as gay? My mom is an incredibly good sport. She recognized she was going to be material.

You're a wildly successful novelist—we're on the 50th-plus printing of *Good in Bed,* for example. And yet one of your constant refrains is that books like yours don't get any respect. Why does it matter to you? Because I want fairness. I always say, "Stephen King and Lee Child can enjoy their money and their success and also be reviewed on the front page of the New York *Times* Book Review." Their stories matter in a way that "commercial women's fiction" doesn't.

Recently you commented on Facebook about an Oprah's Book Club pick and then retracted it. Why? It is hard to be a woman writer in the world, and if I can't say anything nice about someone else's work, I'd rather not say anything at all.

How does your weight-loss surgery jibe with your championing of women loving who they are? It was a very, very hard decision, and I was aware of the contradiction. I was so uncomfortable being that heavy, I wanted to be the size that I'd been most of my adult life before I went through postpartum depression and was basically eating everything that wasn't nailed down. If I'd been stronger, in a better place in my marriage, I could have said, "I'm going to weigh 300 lb. for the rest of my life and learn to be O.K. with it." But I wasn't.

> 'My go-to compliment is "You look so happy today." Works for everyone.'

You advise women to give each other compliments. How do you do that without commenting on appearance? My go-to compliment is "You look so happy today." Works for everyone.

As an expert on *The Bachelor,* do you have any advice for contestants? I do. When they ask you, "What are you afraid of?" don't say heights, don't say the dark. Because then the producers will say, "We're rappelling up a building to eat dinner!" Say you're afraid of long naps, chocolate croissants and massages, O.K.? —BELINDA LUSCOMBE

JAVIER SIRVENT FOR TIME

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